

THE SAYINGS OF JESUS

IN THE

EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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Title of Thesis "The Sayings of Jesus in the Epistles of St. Paul."

Introduction:

The aim of this study is to examine the passages in the Pauline Epistles where it seems likely that he is quoting or alluding to a saying of Jesus that has also been recorded in the Synoptic Gospels; with some comment on the relationship between Paul and the Gospel writers.

The examination is conducted along the following lines:

1. The Tradition. "For I delivered to you... what I also received" (1 Cor. 15, 3); how does this tally with Paul's statement (Gal. 1, 12) "For I did not receive it..."?

An examination of the modern discussion on the Pre Pauline tradition.

2. The Sayings of Jesus in this tradition.

- (a) The "Words of the Lord" - 1 Cor 7, 10; 9, 14; 11, 23; and possibly 1 Thess. 4, 15.
- (b) Other "Commands of the Lord" - 1 Cor. 14, 37.
- (c) Possible allusions to the words of Jesus throughout the epistles; with special reference to passages from Romans, 1 Thess, Colossians.
- (d) Paul's conception of the "Law of Christ".
- (e) The Lord's Prayer.

3. Summary and conclusions.

I declare that this thesis has been composed by myself on the basis of work carried out by me under the supervision of the Revd. R. S. Barbour, M.C., B.D., during the period October, 1966 - August, 1971.

.....(August 1971)

PREFACE

Scholarly opinion is divided as to the extent to which Paul knew and used sayings of Jesus. An example of the majority view would be that of R. Bultmann: "After his conversion he (Paul) made no effort toward contact with Jesus' disciples or the Jerusalem Church for instruction concerning Jesus and his ministry. On the contrary, he vehemently protests his independence from them in Galatians 1-2. And, in fact, his letters barely show traces of the influence of the Palestinian tradition concerning the history and preaching of Jesus."¹ He finds three words of the Lord (1 Cor. 7.10; 9.14; 1 Thess. 4.15f) in Paul's letters and mentions four "possible echoes" of Jesus' sayings (Rom. 12.14; 13.9f; 16.19; 1 Cor.13.2). On the other hand, A. M. Hunter finds such a view "trite" and remarks² "No-one who has carefully examined Paul's exhortations will be guilty of such a snap-judgment." The present study aims to be such an examination.

We begin by examining Paul's protestations of independence from the Jerusalem apostles in Galatians (notably Gal. 1.11f), comparing them with passages (e.g. 1 Cor. 11.23, 15.3) where he claims to have received traditional teaching. An attempt is made to resolve the apparent contradiction presented by these verses.

What evidence is there in his letters that such traditions contained sayings of Jesus?

¹ Theology of the New Testament, I p.188. For a convenient survey of the wider debate up to Bultmann, see V. P. Furnish, 'The Jesus - Paul Debate: From Baur to Bultmann'.

² Paul and His Predecessors, p.45. He is not explicitly referring to this quotation from Bultmann.

To answer this question we examine the four words of the Lord:

1 Cor. 7.10; 9.14; 11.23ff; 1 Thess. 4.15f;

the commandment of the Lord, 1 Cor. 14.37, and various possible allusions to sayings of Jesus in Romans, Thessalonians, Colossians and elsewhere in his epistles.

Other related questions receive attention - Does Paul's conception of the 'Law of Christ' imply a knowledge of Jesus' sayings? Did he know the Lord's Prayer?

Finally some conclusions are drawn as to Paul's relation to the Synoptic tradition, and to the whole problem of sayings of Jesus in the Pauline Epistles.

The Greek text quoted is that of Nestle - Aland, Novum Testamentum Graece, 25th edition. Unless otherwise stated the English translation is that of the R.S.V. The abbreviations are the usual ones, and some are mentioned in the bibliography.

The Pastoral Epistles and Ephesians, being of disputed authenticity, are not discussed fully.

Throughout my period of study I have enjoyed the interest and help of my supervisor, the Revd. R. S. Barbour, M.C., B.D., whom I sincerely thank.

Others whom I must mention with gratitude are the Rev. Professor E. A. Russell who brought to my notice the work of D. L. Dungan; Dr. D. L. Dungan, University of Tennessee, who was good enough to send me the galley-proofs of his book The Sayings of Jesus in the Churches of Paul soon to be published by Blackwells Ltd., Oxford. (Since it came to hand very recently, discussion of it has been confined to appended notes.);

the library staffs of New College, Edinburgh, the Presbyterian College, Belfast, and the New University of Ulster, Coleraine;

my typists, Mrs. E. Orr and Mrs. M. Dempster; and finally my wife, who in a different way is responsible for the completion of this study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface

THE TRADITION

The Tradition	2
The Occurrence of Words relating to the Transmission and Reception of the Tradition.	6
The Independence of Paul's Message and Apostleship	9
Note on Galatians 1.16 - 20	25
The Transmission of the Tradition	29

THE WORDS OF THE LORD

I Corinthians 11.23ff	38
I Corinthians 7.10	47
I Corinthians 9.14	61
I Thessalonians 4.15	72

OTHER COMMANDS OF THE LORD

I Corinthians 14.37	90
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POSSIBLE ALLUSIONS TO SAYINGS OF JESUS

Romans 12 - 14	96
I Thessalonians	120
Colossians	142
Other Possible Allusions	163

THE LAW OF CHRIST 188

DID PAUL KNOW THE LORD'S PRAYER ? 201

CONCLUSIONS

Summary of Findings	210
Paul and the Evangelists	213
Why does Paul not quote Sayings of Jesus more often?	219
Note on the 'Creative Genius' of the	
Early Church	224
Paul and the Catechetical Tradition	225

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY 228

THE TRADITION

THE TRADITION

In Mark 7.1-13, par Matt. 15.1-20, we read of an incident when the Pharisees question Jesus about his disciples who were disregarding the traditions of the elders concerning washing before meals. In reply Jesus accuses them of being so concerned to keep their traditions that they have neglected the commandments of God (Mark 7.8). B. Gerhardsson¹ points out how much of the Rabbinic terminology for preserving and transmitting the tradition is found in these two passages:

παρὰδιδόναι	is equivalent to	גזר	'to pass on' the tradition	Mark 7.13.
παρὰλμβάνειν	"	קבל	'to receive' the tradition	Mark 7.4.
τηρεῖν	"	שמר	'to preserve' the tradition	Mark 7.9.
κρατεῖν	"	חזק	'to hold' the tradition	Mark 7.3.
ἰσταναι	"	מציב	'to maintain' the tradition	Mark 7.9 var. ²
περιπατεῖν κατὰ	"	הלך	'to walk according to' the tradition	Mark 7.5.
παρὰβαίνειν	"	גזל	'to transgress' the tradition	Matt. 15.2.

Following our Lord's repudiation and rejection of the appeal to Rabbinic tradition in these two parallel passages, no New Testament writer sets any store by this tradition. Nevertheless, the very same terminology for receiving and handing on a tradition is found both in the Epistles of Paul and elsewhere in the New Testament:

παρὰδιδόναι - Luke 1.2; 1 Cor. 11.23; 15.3.

παρὰλμβάνειν - 1 Cor. 11.23; 15.1,3; Gal. 1.9.

¹ Memory and Manuscript, pp.288f.

² read by D, W, ©, 1, 28, etc. It is strongly attested and may be original.

- κρατεῖν - 2 Thess. 2.15.
 περιπατεῖν - 2 Thess. 3.6
 ἱστάναι - 2 Thess. 2.15¹

That such terminology should be carried over into the teaching of the early church is hardly surprising when we remember that a number of converted Pharisees, including Paul, were found in its membership. Paul relates how he had been "extremely zealous" for the traditions of his fathers.² It seems quite credible that Paul had studied in Jerusalem under Gamaliel³, and so would have been familiar with the Rabbinic attitude to tradition. After his conversion, Paul rejects the traditions of the elders, but he receives and transmits the Christian tradition. "It is no contradiction" comments Büchsel, "that Jesus repudiates tradition and Paul champions it. Paul's tradition agrees with Jesus' rejection, since they are both opposed

¹ For a fuller discussion see pp.6ff ; and W. D. Davies, The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount, p.355; B. Gerhardsson op.cit. pp.288ff;

O. Cullmann, 'The Tradition', The Early Church, pp.63f.

² Gal. 1.14 cf. Phil. 3.5ff.

³ Acts 22.3. see W. C. van Unnik, Tarsus or Jerusalem; and for a contrary view, J. Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul, pp.34f; R. Bultmann, 'Paul', Existence and Faith, p.131. Anderson Scott, Living Issues in the New Testament, pp.15f finds it probable that Paul had been in Jerusalem at the time of the crucifixion and had seen the Lord. Even if this question is left open, the Rabbinic elements in his writings are clearly evident, see e.g. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism.

to human tradition."¹ Tradition is certainly very important for Paul, "and he demands that the churches should keep to it, since salvation depends on it (1 Cor. 15.2). He sees no antithesis between pneumatic piety and the high estimation of tradition. The essential point for Paul is that it has been handed down (1 Cor. 15.3) and that it derives from the Lord (1 Cor. 11.23). A tradition initiated by himself or others is without validity (Col. 2.8)."² But to say without qualification, "For Paul Christian teaching is tradition"³ is to overstate the case. Cullmann summarizes the content of the tradition as follows:⁴

1. Moral rules after the fashion of the halakah cf. e.g. 1 Cor. 11.2; 2 Thess. 3.6; Rom. 6.17; Phil. 4.9; Col. 2.6.
2. A summary of the Christian message, which brings together facts from the life of Jesus and their theological interpretation, 1 Cor. 15.3f.
3. Single narratives from the life of Jesus, 1 Cor. 11.23ff.

W. D. Davies⁵ does not distinguish between items two and three and so, sees the content of the tradition being twofold: the kerygma and the didache.⁶ C. H. Dodd⁷ rightly stresses the role which

¹ $\pi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\sigma\iota\varsigma$ T.D.N.T. II, p.172.

² ibid.

³ ibid.

⁴ O. Cullmann, op.cit., p.64, see also F. F. Bruce, Tradition Old and New, p.29.

⁵ The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount, pp.354 ff.

⁶ He does not use these two terms.

⁷ History and the Gospel, pp.63ff.

acts and sayings of Jesus played in the tradition. Our own research has established¹ that reference to traditions in the ethical sections of Paul's letters is usually found in passages where there is good reason to believe that sayings of Jesus underlie the passage. Dodd notes², "there is so much in Paul's ethical teaching which directly or indirectly recalls the actual words of the Gospels, that we must suppose that both he and his converts were acquainted with a collection of traditional sayings of Jesus, similar to those sayings which have been used by the Evangelists."

There is little or no evidence that the sayings of Jesus played any part in the apostolic kerygma but this cannot be said of his deeds; from the summary of what Paul and the other apostles preached, recorded in 1 Cor. 15 we learn of the death, burial, resurrection and appearing of Jesus. Just how much of the life of Jesus was known to Paul is of course a matter of dispute, British scholars, e.g. J. S. Stewart and C. H. Dodd,³ have tended to assume more knowledge than their continental counterparts; the latest contribution in the British tradition is perhaps that of C. F. D. Moule, 'Jesus in the New Testament Kerygma', Verborum Veritas, pp.15-26.

¹ see pp.38ff.

² op.cit., p.65.

³ J. S. Stewart A Man in Christ, pp.286f, C. H. Dodd, op.cit. p.65.

THE OCCURRENCE OF WORDS RELATING TO THE TRANSMISSION AND
RECEPTION OF THE TRADITION IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

a. παράδοσις

This occurs thirteen times in the New Testament: five times in a passage in Mark 7 referring to the tradition of the elders (vv. 3, 5, 8, 9, 13) and three times in the parallel passage in Matthew (15.2, 3, 6.)

In the Pauline corpus it occurs twice referring to such human traditions - Gal. 1.14; Col.2.8; and three times referring to the christian tradition that Paul had handed on to the readers of his letters:

1 Cor. 11.2: καθὼς παρέδωκα ὑμῖν τὰς παραδόσεις κτετέχετε

2 Thess. 2.15: στήκετε καὶ κρατέτε τὰς παραδόσεις ἃς ἐδίδαχθητε

The traditions refer here to the teaching about the last things

(2.1-4) of which Paul reminds the Thessalonians (2.5).

2 Thess. 3.6: παραγγέλλομεν δὲ ὑμῖν... στέλλεσθαι ὑμῖς ἀπὸ παντός
ἀδελφοῦ ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦντος καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ἣν
παρελάβετε παρ' ἡμῶν

In this case the tradition is practical teaching on how to live in view of the imminent end of all things.

b. παραδίδωμι (in the sense of 'hand on', 'transmit'.)

It is used of the relationship of the Son to the Father: Matt. 11.27, par Luke 10.22: "all things have been delivered to me by my Father"

Büchsel comments¹ that this "speaks of the mysterious authority (or nature) of the Son, not his knowledge of God".

It is used of the handing on of Rabbinic tradition -

¹ T.D.N.T. II p.171.

Mark 7.13¹; Acts 6.14.

It is used of the decision of the Council of Jerusalem (Acts 16. 4), of the body of christian teaching (Jude 3), of christian moral teaching (2 Pet. 2.21), of the eye-witness accounts of the words and deeds of Jesus (Luke 1.2).

In Paul it occurs three times in I Corinthians:

- in 11.23 it is part of the formula - "I delivered what I also received" - introducing the account of the Institution of the Lord's Supper.
- in 15.3 it is found in a similar formula introducing a pre-Pauline summary of the kerygma.
- in 11.2 it refers to previous traditions which Paul had delivered to them, presumably similar to those referred in the two passages above.

The other occurrence of the verb in Paul is in Rom. 6.17 in what Bultman thinks is a gloss². In this passage Paul gives a twist to the expression saying that since his readers who were once slaves of sin are now slaves of Christ, the "pattern of teaching"³ is not handed to them, rather, they are handed to it.

c. παραλαβένω

In the sense of "receiving a tradition" this is found in

Mark 7.4⁴

1 Cor. 15.3; of receiving the gospel that had been preached to them similarly Gal. 1.9,12.

¹ see above.

² see Leenhardt, The Epistle to the Romans, p.172.

³ ὁ τύπος διδασκῆς Rom. 6.17.

⁴ see above.

Phil. 4.9; 1 Thess. 4.1; 2.13; of practical moral instruction.

Col. 2.6; of both kerygma and didache.

1 Cor. 11.23; of the account of an incident from the life of Jesus.

We may summarize our findings as follows:

1. παραδosis, παραδίδωμι, and παραλαμβάνω are found in connection with the account of an incident from the life of Jesus (1 Cor. 11.23ff), and a summary of the kerygma (1 Cor. 15.1f.).

2. παραδίδωμι and παραλαμβάνω are used of the transmission of practical moral teaching in Phil. 4.9; 1 Thess 2.13; 4.1; Col. 2.6 and perhaps 1 Cor. 11.2; and by inversion Rom. 6.17.

What is interesting, is that in the passages concerned with practical living in these epistles - Rom. 12.1ff; 1 Thess 4.1ff; Col. 3.1ff we have good reason to believe that Paul is consciously alluding to some sayings of Jesus¹. Furthermore Phil. 4.9 is found in close proximity to an allusion of a saying in Phil. 4.6². The teaching to which Paul refers in 1 Cor. 11.2 is surely of the same order as that which he gives them in the preceding chapters of that epistle, that is, teaching based upon, with perhaps even echoes of, sayings of Jesus (cf. 1 Cor. 7.10; 9.14; 11.23).

So in the letters of Romans, 1 Corinthians, Philippians, Colossians, and 1 Thessalonians, we find the language of transmitting and receiving a tradition in close connection with practical teaching which seems firmly based on the teaching of Jesus.

¹ see below pp. 95ff.

² see below pp. 175f.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF PAUL'S MESSAGE AND APOSTLESHIP

Charles Hodge in his commentary on 1st Corinthians¹ asserts that when Paul says in 1 Cor. 11.23 that he "received of the Lord" the narrative of the Last Supper he meant that it was "communicated immediately by Christ" to him.² He refers to Gal. 1.12, "I neither received it from man, neither was I taught it, but it came through a revelation of Jesus Christ." This verse and the preceding one pose a real difficulty to our argument and so must be examined in some detail.

Gal. 1.11f: γνωρίζω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ ἀπαγγεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου παρέλαβον αὐτὸ οὔτε ἐδίδυχθην, ἀλλὰ δι' ἰσχυροῦς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Hendriksen's paraphrase of this passage runs, "As far as I myself am concerned, in no way whatever did it reach me from any human source. It was not transmitted to me by means of tradition from father to son (or from one generation to the next), nor by means of instruction from teacher to pupil . . . on the contrary (I received it) through the revelation of Jesus Christ."³ This appears to flatly contradict Paul's statements in 1 Cor. 11.23; and 15.1ff:

γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὅτι εὐαγγελισάμην ὑμῖν, ὁ καὶ παρέλαβον.

¹ Banner of Truth Trust, 1958.

² For others who hold this view, see Cullmann, 'The Tradition', in The Early Church pp.60f.

³ A Commentary on Galatians, London, 1969.

Note the almost identical language but without the negative.¹

The question is "How could Paul tell the Corinthians that he had received the gospel he had preached to them, and tell the Galatians he had not received it?"²

Our answer will be in four parts:

- A. Paul's knowledge of Jesus from other sources.
- B. Paul's dependence on the other Apostles.
- C. The particular reason for writing the Epistle to the Galatians.
- D. The distinction between facts and their significance.

A. Paul's knowledge of Jesus from other sources.

Before his conversion Paul must have known something of the life and teaching of Jesus.³ As one educated under Gamaliel (Acts 22.3), in his attitude to the Law, a Pharisee who kept its requirements (Phil. 3.6), the Law was not a matter of indifference to him,⁴ it was absolutely indispensable as the revelation of God's will, and way for living. It is likely that such a person περιβοιότως ἡρώδης ὑπαρχών for the traditions of the elders, and a young man at that, would have been most interested in anyone who called the authority of these traditions completely into question⁵.

¹ see also 1 Cor. 12.3; 2 Cor. 8.1

² Assuming, of course, that he is referring to the same gospel in both cases!

³ We can lay aside as groundless the many speculative theories concerning Paul's contacts with Jesus before his crucifixion, usually based on 2 Cor. 5.16 (See the commentaries).

⁴ cf. Gal. 1.14 "So extremely zealous was I for the traditions of my fathers."

⁵ cf. Mark 7.9.

Indeed, he may even have been aware of this teaching before Jesus of Nazareth was crucified.

Paul tells us he was an enthusiastic and vehement persecutor of the followers of Jesus (Phil. 3.6; 1 Cor. 15.9). Hendriksen notes,¹ "if he had not known what believers were saying why would he have persecuted them . . . so bitterly?" In Acts 7.58 we read of Paul's presence at the stoning of Stephen.² Now Acts 7.2-53 may not be an accurate transcript of what Stephen said on that occasion,³ but we think it most likely that Paul heard something of the Christian message from the first Christian martyr. As a *βεβίβητος* (Acts 7.58) he may not have been a member of the Sanhedrin⁴ but he must at least have had an indirect knowledge of what Stephen said on that occasion. So "it is safe to assume . . . that even before his conversion Paul must have been fairly well acquainted with many of the historical facts and happenings regarding Jesus."⁵

B. Paul's dependence on the other Apostles.

(a) The first visit to Jerusalem Gal. 1.16-18⁶

¹ Galatians p.49. See also Anderson Scott, op.cit. p.18.

² H. N. Ridderbos, Paul and Jesus p.49, thinks it possible that Paul and Stephen may have engaged in the debate referred to in Acts 6.9. See also F. V. Filson, New Testament History, p.200.

³ W. Manson, The Epistle to the Hebrews, p.27, argues for the general reliability of the account of Stephen in Acts.

⁴ F. F. Bruce, New Testament History, p.226, n5.

⁵ Hendriksen op.cit. p.49. That Paul knew something of Jesus of Nazareth is clear from Rom. 1.3; 9.5; 1 Cor. 1.23; 15.1ff; Phil. 2.5ff.

⁶ See the detached note on Gal. 1.16-18 pp.25ff.

For three years after his experience on the Damascus Road Paul spent his time in Arabia¹ and Damascus. During this time he made no attempt to consult with anyone, nor did he go to Jerusalem to meet the leaders of the Church. At the end of this period he did go to visit Peter and spent fifteen days with him. What went on during that fortnight we can only guess. He may have engaged in some preaching.² Most scholars would agree with Gresham Machen³ citing Holstein that it is improbable "that he spent the time gazing silently at Peter as though Peter were one of the sights of the city." And when they did talk they could not have spent all the time "talking about the weather"⁴ Bruce comments,⁵

¹ 'Arabia' probably refers to the Nabataean Kingdom which extended right up to the city of Damascus, and may even have included it at th's time. See The Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible, p.87, plate XV; Guthrie ad loc., and Bligh ad loc.

² See Blunt, Galatians p.68

³ The Origin of Paul's Religion, p.76. A similar comment from St. Jerome is quoted by Bligh ad loc.

⁴ C. H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments, 1st ed. 1936, p.26. This phrase does not seem to appear in the 1963 edition in our possession.

⁵ The Spreading Flame, p.87. See also the same author's, New Testament History, p.231. That Paul gained such information from Peter is accepted by Gresham Machen, op.cit. p.76f; W. Barclay, Ambassador for Christ, p.55; Conybeare and Howson, The Life and Epistles of St. Paul, vol. I, p.101; Hendriksen, ad loc; Cole, ad loc.; Mikolaski 'Galatians', N.B.C.R., ad loc.; K. F. Nickle, The Collection, p. 102 thinks they discussed the daily life of the Christian fellowship; C. K. Barrett, J.T.S., N.S., 14 1963, p.449, thinks that Paul could not have gained any significant

"The chief reason for his return to Jerusalem at this time was to make Peter's acquaintance and to ascertain from him as much as he knew about Jesus."

Machen goes further and thinks that 1 Cor. 15.5-7¹ is "a summary of the Jerusalem tradition which Paul received from Peter during the fifteen days." Though speculative this view is not without some justification - Paul tells us that Peter and James were the only apostles he met on this occasion: Bruce comments,² "it is no accident, that in his famous summary of the appearances of the risen Christ, the only persons whom he mentions by name as being granted such appearances are Peter, James and himself. These interviews with Peter and James were most important for Paul; the main outlines of the apostolic message as it had been

5 (cont.)

information during a fourteen day visit. Gerhardsson, Tradition and Transmission, p.26 n50, feels that he is underestimating Paul's intelligence, for "a person trained in a Rabbinic school could learn a great deal in a fortnight." Bligh, ad loc., p.138, sides with Gerhardsson on this point and observes, "we have no reason to suppose that the Council of Jerusalem of Acts 15 and Gal. 2 took anything approaching fifteen days." O. Cullmann, The Early Church, p.65, also agrees with Bruce on this matter as regards the handing on of tradition as does G. E. Ladd, 'Revelation and Tradition in Paul', in Apostolic History and the Gospel, p.230. See also Kilpatrick in New Testament Essays, (ed. A. J. B. Higgins) pp.144-149 on ἵστορησεν, Κηφᾶν.

¹ op.cit., pp.76f.

² The Spreading Flame, pp.87f.

proclaimed from the day of Pentecost onward were made dear to him, so that he could thenceforth assure his hearers and readers that he was imparting to them what had been imparted to him in the first instance: "whether it be I or they (the original witnesses of the resurrection), this is what we proclaim.

(1 Cor. 15.11)"¹

(b) The Second Visit to Jerusalem. Gal. 2.1-10.

The important verse in this section is v.2. Paul points out that

he was not summoned to Jerusalem (ἀνέβην δὲ κατὰ ἀποκρίσειν)

but he did lay before the leaders² the message he preached to

the Gentiles. ἀνατίθεμαι can mean to 'offer for approval'

but W. Schmithals³ thinks that this is at most a secondary

meaning and that here the verb denotes simply 'to bring before

someone for consideration'. The reason for his action, Paul tells

us, was μή πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον.

This should probably be construed as an object clause after a verb

¹ In his recent New Testament History, (1969) p.252, Bruce finds "nothing more likely" than this view. See also, A. Fridrichsen, The Apostle and His Message, p. 17 n9, when the appearances to Cephas and James in 1 Cor. 15.5, 7, are described as "highly significant"; O. Cullmann, The Early Church, p.73.

² Duncan, ad loc., and Guthrie, ad loc., think he also submitted his message to the whole Christian congregation in Jerusalem.

³ Paul and James, p.40

of fearing.¹

What did Paul mean by "running in vain"?

Fundamental to any answer to this question must be the assertion that the sense and meaning of Gal. 2 must corroborate Gal. 1.²

It is possible that parallel accounts of the same events in Paul

¹ There are several ways of taking this clause:

(i) An indirect question with *τρέχω* indicative, retaining the direct form: "Whether perhaps I was running or had run in vain."

Then ellipsis must be supplied -

- a. in order that I might learn from them, or
- b. in order that they might perceive, or
- c. to put to test the question.

Since *μή* expects a negative answer, Paul has no doubt about the result of his work but only the abstract possibility of its fruitlessness.

(ii) A final clause: "that I might not run or have run in vain."

(iii) An object clause after a verb of fearing:

"(fearing) lest I should run or have run in vain."

In which case *τρέχω* is subjunctive, cf. 1 Thess. 3.5.

Against (i) *μή πως* is never found in indirect questions.

Against (ii) a past indicative in a final clause is only found after a hypothetical statement contrary to the fact, but *ὡς ἐγένετο* expresses not what might have happened but what did happen.

(iii) seems to be consistent with general Greek usage and

Paul's use of *μή πως* So Funk 370.2, cf. Moulton I, 193.

² Rightly emphasised by Schmithals, op.cit. p.40.

and Luke may be irreconcilable, perhaps even that what Paul writes in one epistle could be at variance with his statements in another, but it is difficult to conceive how, in view of the continuous progression of the narrative and his apologetic motive in writing the Epistle to the Galatians, anything in Gal. 2.2 could contradict what Paul has been firmly asserting in the previous chapter. It follows then that Paul was not seeking any sort of authorization from the Jerusalem leaders - he had said in the previous chapter that his gospel and apostleship were completely independent of men; besides it was a bit late in the day, after fifteen years of missionary preaching, to seek any such authorization.

If this was not the reason for conferring on the gospel he preached, why did he do it and why was he afraid lest he should be running in vain? To my mind the only satisfactory answer is that he feared a rift in the Church.¹ "The integrity and unity of the Christian movement were at stake."² If Paul and the Jerusalem leaders had not been able to agree and there had been "any open rupture between the two rival factions" then "the progress of the Church as a whole and of Paul's work in particular would have become seriously impaired."³ A breach between them was avoided and "nothing was added" to the message of Paul (Gal. 2.6). By

¹ So Cole ad loc. This is also the interpretation of Burton, Lightfoot, Ridderbos, Adeney, Hendriksen, Allen.

² Mikolaski ad loc.

³ Guthrie ad loc.

this Paul must mean that nothing of doctrinal significance was added to the message whose basis the Judaizers were attacking. One addition was suggested and eagerly agreed to (2.10). That Paul can give a qualification to a categorical denial of three verses earlier is important. It shows how Paul's statements in this epistle are relative to the particular controversy in which he was engaged, and may require much qualification when taken from their immediate context.

C. The particular reason for writing to the Galatians.¹

In this letter Paul is answering two charges of his opponents.

- (i) he was inferior to the other apostles
- (ii) his gospel was incomplete.

In reply Paul stresses three things.

- (1) He received his apostleship and gospel directly from God.

a. This is firmly asserted by the opening words of the epistle:

Παῦλος ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπου οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου
ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ πατρὸς . . .

It is difficult to know how much distinction should be drawn between ἀπό and διὰ, and between the plural and singular of ἀνθρώπος. Perhaps ἀπό stresses the ultimate source and διὰ the agency. Nevertheless, the general sense is clear, "not by human appointment or human commission" (N.E.B.).

The apostles may have thought that they had the authority to add to their number, cf. the election of Matthias, Acts 1.26, but

¹ A. M. Hunter, Galatians to Colossians, p.7 "It is not a treatise but a sword cut in battle, dealt, in an hour of great peril, by a combatant facing formidable foes."

Paul was directly appointed by God. It is not without significance that Paul mentions the resurrection of Jesus just after his apostolic calling:

1.1 ἄλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν.

Usually Paul begins his letters:

Ἐπίστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ θελήματος Θεοῦ 1 & 2 Cor.

Eph., Col., 2 Tim. Only in Galatians and Romans does Paul mention the resurrection in the opening address, and in Romans it is three verses from the very beginning. The unusual mention of the resurrection so close to the reference to his apostolic calling by Christ leads us to think that Paul had his Damascus Road experience in mind in the opening verse of the epistle.

b. Any human mediation is categorically denied in 1.11f. quoted above p.9.

c. v.15f "But when he who had set me apart before I was born, and had called me through his grace, was pleased to reveal his Son to me, in order that I might preach him among the Gentiles . . ."
Paul is asserting that even before his mother conceived him, he had been set apart to be an apostle and the sphere of his apostolic mission determined. Indeed his calling was similar to that of Jeremiah:

Jer. 1.5 "Before I formed you in the womb I knew you, and before you were born I consecrated you; I appointed you a prophet to the nations."¹

¹ Bligh, ad loc., sees "he who set me apart from my mother's womb" as an intentional allusion to Isa. 49.1-6.

(ii) His is the complete Gospel.

Immediately after the introductory benediction we find a word not of commendation¹ but of surprise and rebuke.

v.6 "I am astonished² that you are so quickly deserting him."

The message Paul has been and is preaching is the "gospel of Christ", (v.7;) through it God calls men by the grace of Christ.

To turn from that gospel is to turn from the One who calls men by it, (v.6); apart from it there is no other gospel, (v.7); any being whatsoever, terrestrial or celestial, who preached contrary to this gospel is assuredly accursed (vv.8f).³

(iii) The Jerusalem Apostles accepted him as an equal.

Paul relates his dealings with the leaders of the church at Jerusalem with care, and in detail as regards chronology.⁴ He shows that, far from ordaining him to the Twelve or any such thing, they simply recognised his apostleship (2.7-9). When they conferred with him on the content of his preaching, they found it in no way defective or incomplete (2.6).

D. The Distinction between Facts and their Significance

What has been said in A - C goes a long way, we feel, to resolving the problem posed earlier - the apparent contradiction between Gal. 1.11f and 1 Cor. 11.23, 15.3 etc., with regard to Paul's dependance on earlier tradition.

¹ cf. Rom. 1.8; 1 Cor. 1.4; Eph. 1.16; Phil. 1.3; Col. 1.3;

1 Thess. 1.2; 2 Thess. 1.3.

² cf. 2 Thess. 1.10 - the only other occurrence of *θαυμάζω* in Paul.

³ *ἀνάθεμα* must mean more than excommunication here, for angels are at least hypothetically involved. See Burton, ad loc.; J. Behm, *ἀνάθεμα* T.D.N.T. I pp.554f.

⁴ See the discussion above pp.11 ff, cf pp.25ff.

We have established that, on the one hand, the particular circumstances at Galatia led Paul to assert his complete independence in such an uncompromising way and so his statements require some qualification; and, on the other, it is more than likely that in his dealings with the Jerusalem authorities he learned information about the life and teaching of Jesus to augment what he already knew. But we are not quite home and dry yet!

The words οὐδε γὰρ ἐγὼ παρὰ ἑσθρῶ πιν παρέλαβον αὐτό still present some difficulty. To resolve the problem completely we must draw a distinction between events and their interpretation and significance.

We have argued above that it is most likely that Paul knew something about Jesus before his conversion, and after his conversion he learnt more of the Master's life and teaching from other Christians, not least the leaders at Jerusalem. The precise theological interpretation and application of these facts came to Paul as a result of his Damascus Road Experience¹ and perhaps of considerable meditation in Arabia; in this respect he was completely independent of all human agencies and

¹ Fridrichsen op.cit., p.13 and p.23 n26, and Whiteley,

The Theology of St. Paul, pp.11f, think his gospel was revealed to him at some other revelation.

intermediaries.¹ Bruce accepts this distinction and comments,²
 "If he (Paul) had been asked to elucidate this distinction between
 the gospel as 'revealed' and the gospel as 'received' he would
 probably have said that the essence of the gospel, 'Jesus Christ,
 the risen Lord', was revealed to him in his conversion experience,
 while the factual details were related to him by first hand
 witnesses who were 'in Christ' before he was."

Worthy of separate mention is Oscar Cullmann's treatment of the
 problem posed by Gal. 1.12 in The Early Church, pp.66ff. He is
 unhappy with the distinction between facts and their interpretation

¹ cf. Dibelius and Kummel, Paul, pp.56f, "The inferences to be
 drawn from these traditions for the faith and conduct of men are
 the essential things that Paul claimed as his own, and whose
 independence of all human doctrine he asserted;" and Hunter,
 op.cit. p.16, "What he got on the Damascus Road was a true
understanding of these facts (about Jesus, which he already knew)"
 (his italics).

Fridrichsen, op.cit., p.20 n20, rejects H. Schlier's distinction
 between the gospel itself and the logos of the gospel to solve
 the "(seeming) contradiction" between Gal. 1.11f and 1 Cor. 15.1ff.
 Instead, he differentiates between the gospel common to Peter
 and himself and their distinctive applications of it, appropriate,
 on the one hand, to the Jews ("the gospel of the circumcision")
 and on the other hand, to the Gentiles. The former application,
 appropriate to the Holy Land, became another gospel when transferred
 to the regions of the Gentiles. (op.cit. pp.9ff).

² New Testament History p.251, cf. The Spreading Flame, p.88, nl.

being used to solve the problem because "neither Paul nor the early Church made a conscious distinction between different elements of the *paradosis*."¹ Facts and theological interpretation are combined in 1 Cor. 15.3f, and Paul attributes both to tradition, so "we cannot claim that he received the facts alone through human intermediaries and their interpretation through direct revelation."

For his distinctive solution to the problem he turns to the words *ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου* in 1 Cor. 11.23. This must refer, he feels, not to the historical Jesus as the first link in the chain of tradition, but to the exalted Lord who stands behind the transmission of the tradition and works in it.² He refers to

1 Cor. 7.10: *παράγγελλω οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀλλὰ ὁ κύριος* - the fact that the verb is in the present tense is very significant for "it is the exalted Lord who now proclaims to the Corinthians through the tradition, what he taught his disciples during his incarnation on earth."³

"The *παράδοσις τῶν ἀποστόλων* is not a *παράδοσις τῶν ἑσθρώπων* for "the Lord himself controls its transmission, so that there is no antithesis between apostolic tradition and direct revelation."⁴

¹ op.cit. p.67.

² G. E. Ladd, op.cit, p.226 sees a similar relationship between the Lord and the tradition but thinks Cullmann's virtual identity of the Lord and the tradition goes beyond the evidence.

³ op.cit., p.68.

⁴ op.cit., p.74.

As regards his criticism of those who distinguish between fact and interpretation, we agree that such a distinction alone cannot solve the problem of Gal. 1,12. In our treatment, however, most stress is laid on the fact that Paul's thought and language in the first two chapters of Galatians are strongly influenced by his particular polemical and apologetic aims.

Secondly, it is possible that along with the facts of the life and teaching of Jesus Paul also received in the paradosis their theological interpretation which he did not add to nor modify. This is possible, but in that case he could not have been the Christian theologian he was. Two things could have come to him by no other way than *δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, his call to become a follower of Jesus, and his commission as the apostle to the Gentiles.¹

¹ Both these came in his vision on the Road to Damascus (Acts 9) cf. p20nl. Ladd op.cit. p.230, comments, "Paul was not converted by Christian preaching but by an immediate confrontation by the exalted Christ. Neither did Paul receive his apostolic office from men. Both - his gospel and his apostolic office - came to him directly from the Lord, unmediated by men." Bligh, p.95, thinks that the doctrines characteristic of Paul's presentation of the gospel must have come to him in this vision namely -

God justifies Gentiles through the faith

Circumcision is not necessary for salvation

Christ is the end of the Law for all who believe.

But this is too cut and dried for our liking.

In the opening chapters of Galatians the fact that his apostolic commission is completely independent of human intermediaries is the crucial point. Along with this goes the other point that his gospel is in no way inferior, as was recognised some years later (Gal. 2.1-7) by the other apostles in Jerusalem. So Gal. 1.12 does not provide us with an example of Paul learning some facts about Jesus in a vision, and then going to the apostles (Gal. 1.18) to find out what they meant. Rather, it refers to his unique experience when he met Jesus face to face. Gal. 1.18 relates an incident when he learnt more about this saviour whom he had already met, and from whom he had received his apostolic commission.

GALATIANS 1.16 - 20.

1. Chronology.

Paul is unusually precise and meticulous in recording the sequence of events following his conversion,¹ as can be seen by the following:-

a. *ἐνθαῦς*, the adverb from *ἐθός*. This is its only occurrence in Paul, though it is found ten times in Matthew, six times in Luke and nine times in Acts, three times in John, and once each in James, 3 John, and Revelation. Probably there is no real difference in meaning between *ἐθός* and *ἐνθαῦς*², but the position of *ἐνθαῦς* at the beginning of the clause here makes it emphatic - "At once, I did not"³

b. "Then after three yearsfifteen days."

Paul refers to the duration of time in years in⁴

- (i) Gal. 2.1: of his next visit to Jerusalem.
- (ii) Rom. 15.23: of his desire to visit the Christians at Rome.
- (iii) 2 Cor. 12.2: of his experience in the Third Heaven.
- (iv) Gal. 3.17: of the covenants to Abraham and to Moses.

These passages are not numerous, and, with one exception, occur where Paul is giving autobiographical detail.

There seems to be no parallel in Paul where reference is made to a specific number of days except perhaps 1 Cor. 15.4 "on the third day", in a passage almost certainly handed to Paul in a fixed formula.

¹ For the reason for this see pp.17ff.

² Funk, Grammar, 102, 2 calls *ἐνθαῦς* "somewhat archaic."

³ or better, "I decided at once not to" *ἐνθαῦς* must be taken with the whole sentence as far as "Arabia."

⁴ see also 1 Tim. 5.9.

2. προσάγει τῷ ἑαυτῷ "means literally 'to lay on oneself in addition' and when used with a genitive, suggests the gaining of information by communicating with others."¹ So it means here, "consult with someone".² Its other occurrence in the New Testament is in the following chapter, Gal. 2.6, where it means "add to", "contribute".² In secular writers it is used of consulting oracles and soothsayers.³

3. ἰστορεῖν . This verb is unique in the New Testament and rare in Biblical Greek⁴. It is variously translated in the versions:

A. V., Phillips	-	"to see Peter"
R.S.V., R.V.	-	"to visit Cephas"
N.E.B.	-	"to get to know Cephas"
T.E.V.	-	"to get information from Cephas"
Moffatt, R.V. (Margin)	-	"to make the acquaintance of"
Weymouth	-	"to inquire for Peter"

The translation of Moffatt is quite popular with the commentators⁵ In Plutarch and Polybius, it is used of visiting places, and in Josephus and Clement of Rome of visiting people⁶; this latter would seem to be the meaning here.⁷ Blunt, ad loc. notes that it is the

¹ Guthrie ad loc.

² W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, A Greek English Lexicon of the New Testament. Liddell & Scott (Jones) give the meaning at Gal. 1.18 as "visit a person for the purpose of inquiry."

³ see Lightfoot, ad loc., for references.

⁴ 1 Esdras 1.31(33), 1.40 (42) is the only other passage in Biblical Greek where it occurs; of Arndt and Gingrich.

⁵ e.g. Duncan, Hunter, Ridderbos, Adeney, Hendriksen, Sanders (Peake), Mikolaski (N.B.C.R.).

⁶ see Burton ad loc., for references.

⁷ So Guthrie, ad loc., "Its choice here is in harmony with Paul's obvious desire to avoid any suggestion that he went to be instructed by Cephas."

verb used of sightseeing.

The form 'Cephas' leads W. D. Davies¹ to look for an Aramaic word behind ἵστορησαι . Certain rabbinic passages in which the meaning is "to visit an authoritative teacher" or "to inquire after a tradition" suggest themselves to him as possible parallels; but he concludes that the matter must be left open.

G. D. Kilpatrick² goes further and would translate the verb - "to get information (about Jesus) from Cephas." J. Weiss "held the opposite view as to the purpose of the visit: 'The visit was only to satisfy a purely personal, though actually unnecessary curiosity to become acquainted with this great personage among the Twelve'."³

Gerhardsson⁴ follows Kilpatrick and translates "to get information from Cephas," no doubt under the influence of Riesenfeld⁵ who held that Paul was submitting to a test from Peter to see if he "during his term of preparation, had really made the tradition of the words and deeds of Jesus his own."

In our view, it is most probable that Paul gained information about Jesus from Peter on this occasion, but it is unlikely that he would have openly admitted this in a passage where he is asserting the complete independence of his message and apostleship. It would seem then that ἵστορησαι was chosen here because it is ambiguous -

¹ in The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount, pp.453ff, Appendix IX

'The use of the term ἵστορησαι in Gal. 1.18'.

² op.cit.

³ quoted by Davies, op.cit., p.454.

⁴ op.cit., p.298.

⁵ H. Riesenfeld, The Gospel Tradition and its Beginnings, p.19.

though it means simply to "visit", "call on", it can carry the additional notion of "getting information from". Gal. 1.18a should then be translated, "After three years I went up to Jerusalem to make the acquaintance of Cephas."

4. The solemn affirmation of the truthfulness of this account in v.20. This is motivated by the same reasons as those given on p.25n1. This supports the view that Paul is being extraordinarily careful in recording these events. Similar affirmations are found in 1 Thess. 2.5 and 2 Cor. 1.23; 11.31; Rom. 9.1.

THE TRANSMISSION OF THE TRADITION

Having established that Paul did receive and pass on a tradition that included words and works of Jesus, we must now consider the means by which the tradition was transmitted. The most important work on this topic is Memory and Manuscript by Birger Gerhardsson. The subtitle of the work is, 'Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity'. The first half of the book (pp.19-189) is given over to an examination of the way the oral and written tradition was passed on in Rabbinic Judaism. In successive chapters Gerhardsson draws attention to the reverence in which the sacred text was held, its "deliberate and methodical preservation" in elementary teaching and public worship, and the important part played by memorization in education. Next he turns to the oral tradition (which he calls "oral torah") and discusses at length the process by which it was handed on:- The material is first memorized and then an attempt is made to understand it. To conserve the actual wording various techniques - e.g. catchwords and mnemonics - are employed, though in some circumstances the material may be condensed and abridged and written notes are permissible. Attention is paid to techniques of repetition and steps are taken to counteract forgetfulness. Finally Gerhardsson finds two elements in the oral tradition, a sayings-tradition and a narrative tradition.

Of this section of the book Davies¹ comments 'An indispensable task - that has at last been fulfilled.'

The second half of the book is of more direct concern to us.

¹ The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount, p.466.

Here Gerhardsson's thesis is that the early Church treated the sayings of Jesus in the same way as the Rabbis treated the Mishnah, as regards its memorization, transmission and preservation. He is developing (though with some differences in detail) the view of H. Riesenfeld in 'The Gospel Tradition and its Beginnings. A study in the limits of Formgeschichte', in *Studia Evangelica* I (Texte und Untersuchungen 73; V.R.I8)

Berlin 1959. Also published separately in London 1957. Riesenfeld argued that Jesus deliberately couched his teaching in poetic form for easy memorization, and appointed the apostles to preserve and transmit his teaching. Gerhardsson argues that the apostles taught and expanded on this teaching as Christian halakah and this sacred tradition eventually was recognized as the Holy Scriptures.

Davies in a carefully argued review¹ finds it "historically probable that the essentials of the tradition find their ultimate origin in Jesus"² for "in the nature of the case because of their attitude towards Jesus, the earliest Christians, especially the disciples who accompanied him during his ministry, would have treasured the memory of his works and words with reverent tenacity." He quotes Gerhardsson's³ statement that

¹ "Reflections on a Scandinavian Approach to 'The Gospel Tradition'" in *Neotestamentica et Patristica*, ed. W. C. van Unnik pp.14ff, also published as Appendix XV in 'The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount' London 1964 pp.464ff (from which the references are taken).

² op.cit. pp.465. cf. pp.352ff and Paul and Rabbinic Judaism pp.136ff.

³ op.cit. p.258.

"all historical probability is in favour of Jesus' disciples, and the whole of early Christianity having accorded the sayings of one whom they believed to be the Messiah at least the same degree of respect as the pupils of a Rabbi accorded the words of their Master!"¹ and comments,² "I find this reasonable."

Davies, however, takes issue with Gerhardsson on two main points³ -

1. He doubts if the tradition did constitute an unmistakable, well-defined entity that would correspond to the Holy Word, *ἱερός λόγος*, postulated by Riesenfeld and Gerhardsson, on two grounds -

A. The Fusion of Sayings with their interpretation

As regards the preservation of the Holy Word, Paul of the canonical writers is nearest to it in time, and yet even in his writings reminiscences of Jesus' words already appear undifferentiated from his own. In the later canonical gospels the process of *ipsissima verba* with *gemara* on them has gone further and "the tradition originating in Jesus has become so merged with material which arose from its use in the Christian community that it can no longer always be easily isolated."⁴ If the transmitted body of works and words of Jesus had been the centre of gravity for

¹ Though called a Rabbi there is 'no indication that he (Jesus) conducted his ministry on the lines of instruction practised in a Rabbinic school; rather the contrary.' Barrett, Jesus and the Gospel Tradition p.9.

² op.cit. p.466

³ op.cit. pp.469-480.

⁴ op.cit. p.478.

primitive Christianity then surely it would have been much more easily distinguishable.

B. Variants of the sayings in the different Gospels.

If the sayings did constitute part of a fixed Holy Word, what explanation can there be for what are commonly regarded as different variants of the same basic saying of Jesus found in the different gospels?¹

When the tradition reaches the early Fathers Davies notes that it was in a more fluid form and not a "definitely delineated" tradition like the "Holy Word", which had it existed in so tangible a form as they suggest, "it is hardly credible that the struggle with Gnosticism would have been so crucial: that agonic struggle arose partly because the appeal to the tradition was ambiguous."²

2. He questions Gerhardsson's understanding of the role played by the temple at Jerusalem, the Twelve Apostles centred there, and the Torah teaching coming through them, in the development of the early Church.

It is true that Jerusalem and the Temple were very important in the life and thought of the early church, but on the other hand "among many Christians Jerusalem was not so much the seat of the Messiah as the place of his rejection."³ Again, the dominance of Jerusalem was short lived. Further, Luke, who,

¹ cf. e.g. Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus passim

² op.cit. p.469

³ op.cit. p.471

some think, overstresses the importance of the nation's capital, focusses his attention in the Acts of the Apostles on Paul rather than on Peter or James.

As regards the role of the Twelve Davies makes three points -

(i) Gerhardsson does not pay enough attention to the apostles other than the Twelve, if as he thinks, Luke was concerned to emphasize the identity of the two groups.

(ii) In Acts the Mission to the Gentiles took place without the authority of the Twelve.

(iii) The structure of Acts does not suggest the overwhelming supremacy of the Twelve.

Davies grants that the Twelve did play a significant part at the emergence of Christianity but feels that Gerhardsson does not take enough notice of the action of the Holy Spirit in Acts,

"thus the phrase ἔδοξε γὰρ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ ἡμῖν Acts 15.28 ascribes the primary place in the decision reached by the Council (Acts 15) to the Spirit, a fact which Gerhardsson recognises but only tepidly."¹ At the council "no appeal to "Christo-Pharisaic norms" (if we may so call them) was made; that is, there was no appeal to Scripture, to the words of Jesus, or to Christian useage."² It is hardly surprising that Gerhardsson can find so little support for the four-fold appeal in the

¹ op.cit. p.476.

² idem.

early Church namely

- (i) Scripture
- (ii) the common tradition which developed in the life on the Church
- (iii) the words of Jesus
- (iv) Rational Arguments

This he thinks was the Christian parallel of the Judaic practice of solving a problem in the light of

- (i) the Miqra
- (ii) the Oral Tradition
- (iii) the interpretation of this
- (iv) Rationalization¹

C. K. Barrett in his discussions of Gerhardsson's work goes further and would place the origin of the tradition "rather in the impression made by a charismatic person than in sayings learnt by rote."²

E. P. Sanders³ is another to question the transference of norms appropriate to the Rabbinic material or folk traditions to the Christian Traditions. He lists some factors that give the early Christian tradition a certain claim on uniqueness:

¹ Gerhardsson takes note of the criticism of Davies in Tradition and Transmission, though in this work he concerns himself mainly with the much more hostile review of Morton Smith: JBL, 1963, 169-177. Other discussions of his work are- R. P. C. Hanson, Tradition in the Early Church pp.15f; N. Perrin, Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus pp.50ff.

² Jesus and the Gospel Tradition p.10. cf. J.T.S., N.S. XIV 1963, 445-449, and XVI 1965 438f.

³ The Tendencies of the Synoptic Tradition (Society for N. T. Studies, Monograph Series No. 9) C.V.P. 1969, pp.26ff.

1. Belief in the living Lord presumably fostered more creativity than one finds in the Rabbinic material.
2. The oral period was of very short duration when compared with that of the Old Testament, the Rabbinic tradition and epic material, and so did not undergo the same changes as did the materials which remained longer in the oral state.
3. The Christian material was transmitted in more than one language and so there was more scope for variation.
4. The Christian tradition was doubtless transmitted by people who were not trained in passing on oral tradition in the way described by Gerhardsson.
5. Christian tradition is not of the same genre as folk literature, despite the similarities.

I do not think I can go the whole way with Sanders and some of his factors seem to cancel one another out as regards the amount of variation likely in the tradition.

Perhaps one should stress both the discontinuity and continuity of the tradition of the apostles with the tradition of the Rabbis - certainly the events of Easter and Pentecost render the Christian Tradition *sui generis*¹ and yet it cannot have been unrelated to

¹ Sanders is certainly right in stressing that the course of its development must be studied in its own right *op.cit.* pp.28f. cf. Appendix III 'The Christian Method of Transmission of Tradition' *op.cit.* pp.294-296, where he questions Gerhardsson's use of passages from Irenaeus and Papias. His objections are not relevant to our discussion since Paul antedates Papias by more than fifty years and Irenaeus by some one hundred and thirty, and again it is almost certain that he received the tradition in a Jewish rather than a Greek milieu.

Rabbinic tradition.

We may conclude that Riesenfeld and Gerhardsson have performed a valuable service in providing us with a necessary corrective to the excesses of form criticism and showing us the Rabbinic milieu in which the Christian tradition arose. No doubt they overstate their case, but on the other hand, it seems clear that the early Christians (including Paul) were careful in the preservation and transmission of the tradition; that the content of this tradition goes back to Jesus himself; and that he works through it so that truly to receive it is to receive him (Col. 2.6).

THE WORDS OF THE LORD

I CORINTHIANS 11.23ff.

There can be no doubt that in these verses Paul quoted from an incident in the life of Jesus, nor again, that his account of the institution of the Lord's Supper includes a saying of Jesus, and so it is unnecessary to argue for the presence of a saying here. What concerns us is

(i) the means by which Paul came by this saying
and (ii) the relationship between this account of the institution of the Lord's Supper and the parallel accounts in the Synoptic Gospels.

(i) How did Paul receive this saying?

Paul prefaces his account of the incident with the words:

1 Cor.11.23: ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν

So he "received it from the Lord," but what does this mean?

Three answers have been given:

- a. He received it by direct revelation.¹
 - b. He received the inner meaning of the Eucharist by direct revelation.
 - c. He received a tradition of the words and deeds of Jesus.
- b. was put forward by Lietzmann: "Paul knows the narrative of the last meal of Jesus from the tradition of the congregation But the essential understanding of this story the Lord had revealed to him"²

¹ So L. Morris ad loc.; C. Hodge ad loc.; G. Bornkamm, "Lord's Supper and Church in Paul", Early Christian Experience p.156 n13 lists some French and German advocates of this view.

² H. Lietzmann, Messe und Herrenmahl, p.255 quoted by Bornkamm ibid.

It has been convincingly refuted by E. Lohmeyer¹ and finds very few present day adherents.

This leaves a. and c.

Supporters of a. argue:

The emphatic *ἐγώ* suggests direct revelation.

The context warrants it - Paul is claiming the direct authority of the Lord. Gal. 1.12 is an important parallel.

For c. it is retorted that:

ἐγώ simply balances *ὑμῖν*

παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου would be more likely if direct communication were meant.

Gal. 1.12 must be set in the context of Paul's polemic against the Judaizers². To assert, with Hodge, that the institution of the Lord's Supper and indeed all Paul's doctrine comes within the scope of the Gospel that he received by a revelation of Christ, is to take issue with most contemporary New Testament scholars.

What we find conclusive is that *παρελάβεν* and *παρὰ δίδοναι* are technical terms for receiving and handing on a tradition.³

As we have already noted, Paul uses both words again in 1 Cor. 15.3 where he reminds his readers of the gospel that he delivered to them.

¹ For a summary of Lohmeyer's arguments see A.J.B. Higgins, The Lord's Supper in the New Testament, pp.26f.

² For a full discussion of this verse, and Paul's relations with those in Galatia see pp. 9ff.

³ See above pp. 2ff and also Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, p.101, Bornkamm op. cit. pp.130ff; Kasemann, 'The Pauline Doctrine of the Lord's Supper', Essays on New Testament Themes p.120; Higgins, op. cit. p.26.

Most scholars agree that 1 Cor. 15.3b-5 is a pre-Pauline paradosis.¹ Jeremias² concludes that since Paul speaks in 1 Cor. 11.23 of receiving and handing on using the same terminology as in 1 Cor. 15.3, then he owes the formulation of the passage about the Lord's Supper, just as he does that of the Kerygma, to the tradition of the early church. Indeed in 1 Cor. 11.2 Paul commends the Corinthians for maintaining the traditions that he had delivered to them.

If this view is correct, and if Paul was just one link in the chain transmitting the tradition, how then can he claim to have received it *παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου*?

Several answers have been suggested:-

- a. The tradition goes back chronologically to the historical Jesus, but it has undergone much development as regards form and theological interpretation.³
- b. Paul received the facts by tradition, the theological significance and interpretation by revelation.⁴ The early Church, however, did not distinguish between these two. cf. 1 Cor. 15.33ff.
- c. Paul was a Christian rabbi. Hence the rabbinization of the tradition explains how he can alter slightly what he claims to hand on just as he has received it.⁵

¹ The literature on this passage is considerable and includes the following: Hunter: Paul and his Predecessors, pp.15ff; Jeremias op. cit., pp.101ff; E. Schweizer, 'Two New Testament Creeds Compared', Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation, ed Klassen and Snyder pp.166ff. Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript, pp.299ff.

² op. cit., *ibid.*

³ So R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I pp.146,150; E. Käsemann, 'The Pauline Doctrine of the Lord's Supper', Essays on New Testament Themes, p.131.

⁴ So Lietzmann op. cit.

⁵ So W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp.249f.

d. Jeremias holds that the tradition goes back to Jesus, but he is more conservative than a. as regards later developments.¹

e. Cullmann agrees that the tradition goes back chronologically to Jesus of Nazareth, but as well as this, the exalted Lord stands over the tradition, himself at work in it through the apostles.²

We consider that the best answer to this question is provided by c, d, or e, or perhaps, since they are not mutually exclusive, by a combination of them.

So we conclude that 1 Cor.11.23ff was part of the tradition which Paul received. This shows us that a saying of Jesus has been preserved in this tradition.

(ii) The next question we must ask concerns the relationships between this tradition, as we have it in Paul, and the parallel versions of it in the other gospels - Matt. 26.26-29; Mark 14.22-25; Luke 22. 15-20; and perhaps John 6.51-59.

The Lucan passage presents great problems for the textual critic and a decision must be taken between the so-called "Shorter" and "Longer"

¹ See The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, p.101, "1 Cor.11.23 says nothing other than that the chain of tradition goes back unbroken to Jesus himself." and op.cit. pp.202f "the common core of the tradition of the Lord's Supper - what Jesus said at the Last Supper - is preserved to us in an essentially reliable form." See also his New Testament Theology, I, p.289; E. Stauffer, New Testament Theology, p.300 n.552.

² See 'The Tradition', in The Early Church, pp.55ff; G. Bornkamm, op.cit. p.131, and see above p.22.

Text".¹

It is quite clear that Matthew is dependant on Mark's account, to which he makes some minor alterations: he adds "eat" after "take", 26.26; he changes Mark's statement that the disciples all drank of the cup into the 'liturgical-imperative' - "drink of it, all of you", 26.27; he adds that it is for the remission of sins that the blood is shed, 26.28².

So the account of Matthew has no independent status and may be discussed along with Mark.

When we compare Mark/Matthew with the accounts in Luke and Paul we find that Luke and Paul display a number of features not found in Mark/Matthew:

1. The words over the cup.

Luke: τὸ τοῦ ποτηρίου ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη (ἐστὶν , Paul) ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου (ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι, Paul)

Mark/Matthew: τὸ τοῦ (ᾧ, Matthew) ἐστὶν τὸ αἷμα μου τῆς διαθήκης

¹ The "Shorter" text is accepted by: Westcott and Hort;

A. R. C. Leaney A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Luke, pp.72ff; G. W. H. Lampe in Peake's Commentary on the Bible rev. ed., ad loc; the translators of the R.S.V. and the N.E.B.

The "Longer" text is accepted by: J. Jeremias, op.cit., pp.139-159; G. Bornkamm, op.cit. p.135; A.J.B. Higgins, op.cit. pp 37ff; E. E. Ellis, The Gospel of Luke, ad loc; I. H. Marshall: New Bible Commentary Revised, ad loc.; H. Conzelmann, An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament, p.58.

G. B. Caird, St. Luke, ad loc., and W. Geldenhuys, Commentary on the Gospel of Luke, ad loc., both remain undecided.

² This addition is both a theological interpretation and a liturgical formula. So Bornkamm, op. cit., p.134.

- Note (i) the order of the words: "the new covenant in my blood,"
 "my blood of the covenant."
 (ii) the addition of "new" in Luke and Paul, a reference to
 Jeremiah 31.31-34.
 (iii) the further definition of "this" by "the cup".

J. Jeremias explains this "strangely complicated formulation of the word over the wine in Luke/Paul" as being intended to ward off "the misunderstanding that the Lord's Supper was a Thyestian meal when blood was drunk."¹ He feels that the account of Matthew/Mark is more original at this point.

2. Only Luke and Paul have the words μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι

3. The command to repeat the rite.

This is only found in Luke and Paul, after the word over the bread,
 τοῦτο ποιεῖτε ἐς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν and Paul repeats it
 after the word over the cup.

4. The connection of the ὑπὲρ phrase with the word over the
 bread. This is only found in Luke and Paul: τοῦτό ἐστιν
 τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν (διδόμενον Luke)

5. Luke and Paul have εὐχαριστήσας for Mark's εὐλόγησας
 It is suggested that εὐλογεῖν is the more original being equi-
 valent to 𐤇𐤍𐤅 "say grace". Its more common meaning of "praising",
 or "glorifying" someone led to it being graecized into εὐχαριστεῖν²

6. Luke and Paul have ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν after the wine, Mark has ὑπὲρ
 πολλῶν. Since Mark is here preserving a Semitic form, he is to
 be regarded as the more original.

¹ Eucharistic Words, p.170.

² See Jeremias, op.cit., p.175.

This agreement between Paul and Luke shows that they share a common tradition. It is most unlikely however, that Luke is directly dependent on Paul, for:

1. The word over the cup (Luke 22.20) omits the copula. This semiticism is not found in either Paul or Mark/Matthew. It is difficult to explain how Luke could have left this out of the Pauline account.
2. Luke does not have the second command to repeat the rite found in Paul, (1 Cor. 11.25). Clearly this has been added for liturgical and symmetrical purposes.

On these two points, then, Luke seems to be reflecting an earlier stage in the tradition than Paul.

On the basis of this sort of evidence Jeremias concludes that "Mark..... stands linguistically nearest to the original tradition."¹ His discussion of the oldest form of the tradition occupies more than sixty pages of his The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, (pp.138-203 of the 3rd ed., E.T. 1966). His arguments are very conveniently summarised by G. Bornkamm², namely:

1. Paul's text shows evidence of Hellenization - "which is for you" is impossible to be retranslated into Aramaic; many of Mark's semitisms are absent.
2. Paul's text betrays a tendency towards a stronger liturgical stylization - the additional "which is for you" to provide better parallelism; the doubly indicated command to repeat the action.
3. Paul's text displays greater evidence of theological reflection - the additional "new covenant".

¹ op.cit., pp.188f.

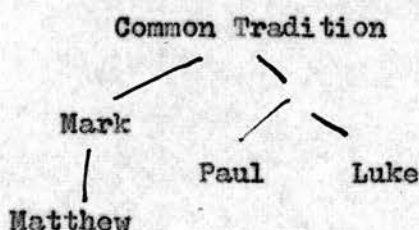
² op.cit., p.136.

But not all the evidence points in the same direction -

1. Mark is not free of Hellenisms - it is impossible to translate into Aramaic "my blood of the covenant."
2. Mark's account shows signs of theological reflection - he makes the word over the cup allude to Exodus 24.8 (the word about the blood of the covenant at the enactment of the Sinai covenant) rather than to Jeremiah 31.

So Bornkamm thinks it is not possible to say which account is nearer the original. Conzelmann¹ agrees that a "uniform original form" cannot be reconstructed from the present material, indeed he questions whether one ever existed. All we can say, he thinks², is that we have two traditions side by side, which are closely related and both contain secondary elements. "We can therefore assume that there were still earlier stages "but we cannot, in his view, make any definite assertions about them.

Nevertheless, it is possible, we feel, to express the relationship between the various versions of the tradition in diagrammatic form:



¹ op.cit., p.57.

² op.cit., p.58. Perhaps he has reacted too strongly against Jeremias.

Paul's account provides the oldest written form of a saying of Jesus, written in Spring 54 or possibly late 53. He says that he transmitted the account to the Corinthians by word of mouth and this puts it back to his ministry there, perhaps to 49/50. Jeremias¹ suggests that Paul is giving us the form to which the church in Antioch was accustomed, and with this we agree.

Quite clearly his version was used in Hellenistic circles. Käsemann² has suggested that Paul made alterations to the tradition before handing it on, which we doubt, - ὁ καὶ παρέλαβον hardly suggests emendation. But even if this were so it is most unlikely that all the Hellenistic elements in his version were due to his own editorial hand, so its Hellenistic milieu is unchallenged. As we have seen it has links with Luke's account - some sort of common ancestry, and we may note that it also has points of contact with John's - cf. John 6.51 where we find the ὑπέρ phrase with the bread, and the participle omitted.

¹ op.cit., p.188.

² op.cit., p.131.

Having established that Paul received and handed on traditional teaching of the church and that this teaching contained a saying of Jesus, we try now to isolate other sayings of Jesus embedded in Paul's letters.

It is generally accepted that Paul specifically quotes a dominical saying on three other occasions:

1 Cor. 7.10; 1 Cor. 9.14; and 1 Thess. 4.15

and to these we now turn.

(i) 1 Cor. 7.10: τοῖς δὲ γεγαμηκόσιν παρ' ἡλλήω, οὐκ ἐγὼ ἄλλα ὁ κυρίος, γυναῖκα ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς μὴ χωρισθῆναι - ἐὰν δὲ καὶ χωρισθῇ, ναέτω ἄρσος ἢ τῷ ἀνδρὶ καταλλ' ἡγήτω - καὶ ἄνδρες γυναῖκα μὴ ἀφίεναι.

There can be no doubt that here Paul is quoting what he believes to be a saying of the Lord and not the content of a personal revelation, for in this chapter he sharply distinguishes between these two things -

1 Cor. 7.12: "To the rest I say, not the Lord."

1 Cor. 7.25: "Now concerning the unmarried I have no command of the Lord, but I give my opinion as one who by the Lord's mercy is trustworthy."

1 Cor. 7.40: "In my judgment and I think I have the Spirit of God."

He is specifically denying that this saying is a product of his own (or anybody else's) spirit-led imagination¹. Some have seen

¹ G. H. Dodd, History and the Gospel, p.57, "That Paul did not confuse his spiritual revelations with the tradition is clear ..."

part of the activity of the early Christian prophets to be the putting of their own spirit-inspired utterances back into the mouth of the historical Jesus¹, but that can hardly be the case here².

Now we turn to possible synoptic parallels:

- a. Mark 10.9: ὁ οὖν ὁ Θεὸς συνέβηξεν, ἄνθρωπος μὴ χωρίζετο.
- b. Matt. 19.6: exact parallel of Mark 10.9.
- c. Mark 10.11f: ὅς ἐάν ἀπολύσῃ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ γαμήσῃ ἄλλην, μοιχᾷται ἐπ' αὐτήν· καὶ ἐὰν αὕτη ἀπολύσῃ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς γαμήσῃ ἄλλον μοιχᾷται.
- d. Matt. 19.9: ὅς ἐν ἀπολύσῃ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ καὶ γαμήσῃ ἄλλην, μοιχᾷται.
- e. Luke 16.18: πᾶς ὁ ἀπολύων τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ γαμῶν ἑτέραν μοιχεύει, καὶ ὁ ἀπολελυμένος ἀπὸ ἀνδρός γαμῶν μοιχεύει.
- f. Matt. 5.32: πᾶς ὁ ἀπολύων τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ παρ' ἑκτός λόγου πορνείας ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχευθῆναι, καὶ ὅς ἐάν ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσῃ, μοιχᾷται.

Matthew 19.6 is an exact parallel of Mark 10.9 and dependent on it so it may be left out of the discussion.

¹ So W. Kramer, Christ, Lord, Son of God, pp.159f. For the contrary view see C. F. D. Moule, The Phenomenon of the New Testament, p.111; J. G. Machen op.cit., p.147.

² Whiteley, op.cit., p.101 stresses that Paul is concerned with such teaching from Jesus only because of the authority it would have for the church.

Let us look at the language of 1 Cor. 7.10.

a. χωρισθῆναι is also found in Mark 10.9, par. Matt. 19.6 - the only other places where it is used in this sense. In the other passages ἀπολύειν is used - Mark 10.11f, par. Matt. 19.9; Luke 16.18; Matt. 5.32. Luke uses χωρισθῆναι only in the sense of 'leaving a place' - Acts 1.4; 18.1f.

It is found in the more general sense of 'separating' in Rom. 8.35, 39; Philemon 15.

b. ἀφίεναι, ἀφίεναι τινά means to 'release from a legal relation, whether office, marriage, obligation or debt.'¹ In the New Testament this is the only passage where it has the legal sense of divorce.

c. καταλύω.

The only use of the word in this sense in the New Testament, though in Greek marriage records ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι is a technical term for the separation of married couples.²

The noteworthy variants in the other passages are

a. συνδέσνυμι.

Mark 10.9, par. Matt. 19.6, are the only occurrences of the verb in the New Testament though it is frequently used of marriage in secular literature.³

b. ἀπολύω.

In the sense of divorce it occurs as follows:

Matthew - 1.19; 5.31; 32bis; 19.3; 8; 9 bis; Mark - 10.2, 4, 11, 12. Luke 16.18 bis.

¹ R. Bultmann, 'ἀφίημι κτλ' T.D.N.T. i, 509.

² F. Büchsel, 'ἀπαλλάσσω κτλ' T.D.N.T. i, 255.

³ See Liddell and Scott.

It is found in the sense 'pardon, release, send away', thirteen times in Luke's gospel and fifteen times in Acts.

In Paul it is absent in any sense.

c. *μοιχέομαι* - 'commit adultery.'

Matt. 5.32; 19.9. Mark 10.11f.

It is not found anywhere else in the New Testament.

d. *μοιχεύω*

This usually has reference to the seventh commandment: so

Matt. 5.27, 28, 19. 18; Mark 10.19; Luke 18.20; Rom. 2.22; 13.9;

John 8.4; Jas. 2.11; Rev. 2.22.

The other instances are Matt. 5.32 and Luke 16.18.

The only close verbal connection between 1 Cor. 7.10 and the synoptic gospels is the use of *χωρισθῆναι* in Mark 10.9, par Matt. 19.6. Elsewhere *ἀπολύω* is used. Mark 10.9 is epigrammatic and looks very like an independent logion -

Note how it stands out in Mark 10, with its use of *χωρισθῆναι* in bold contrast to the use of *ἀπολύειν* in vv. 2, 4, 11 and 12.

If this logion had been available to Paul it would explain his rare use of *χωρισθῆναι*. Mark 10 as a whole, however,

shows no sign of any close relationship to Paul. Note his use of the thoroughly and exclusively Pauline *καταλλάσσω*, and the unique *ἐφίεναι* in place of the normal *ἀπολύω*

Mark 10.11f. expands on the saying two verses earlier:

"Whoever divorces his wife and marries another, commits adultery against her; and if she divorces her husband and marries another, she commits adultery."

Matt. 19.9 follows the first half of this saying almost word for word but inserts the exception clause, *μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ*, which is also found in Matt. 5.32.

Luke 16.18 (the Q version?) is similar to Mark 10.11f but is distinguished from it by:

a. different context

b. verbal differences

- | | | |
|------------------|-----|----------------|
| 1. πᾶς ὁ ἀπολύων | for | ὅς ἐν ἀπολύσει |
| 2. γυνῶν ἑτέρων | for | γυνῶν ἄλλων |
| 3. μοιχεύει | for | μοιχεύεται |

1. This generic use of the participle with πᾶς¹ is not found in Mark but occurs six times in the Sermon on the Mount, including Matt. 5.32, (on divorce).

2. ἕτερος² is not found in Mark except in the longer ending (Mark 16.12). It is quite common in Matthew and Luke; Matthew's use of ἄλλος in 19.9 is dependant on Mark 10.11.

3. We noted above that μοιχεύω nearly always has reference to the Seventh Commandment. Its use in Luke 16.18 is no exception for the previous verse reads:

"It is easier for heaven and earth to pass away, than for one dot of the law to become void."

It has been frequently pointed out that Jewish law permitted a man to divorce his wife and not vice versa¹, though in some circumstances a woman could force her husband to divorce her². In the Hellenistic world, however, a woman had more rights in this matter. So Mark 10.12 envisages a situation which is Hellenistic rather than Palestinian. It would appear to be Mark's application of

¹ Though this was not completely unknown - Jos. Ant. 15.7.10: "She (Salome) sent him (Castobar) a bill of divorce and dissolved her marriage with him, though this was against the Jewish laws."

see also T. W. Manson Sayings, p.137.

² See Vincent Taylor, The Gospel according to St. Mark, pp.419f.



Jesus' saying recorded in 10.9, though some scholars entertain the possibility that Jesus was envisaging a non-Jewish situation where a woman could divorce her husband.¹

The exception clause, Matt. 5.32; 19.9, is also considered secondary by most scholars.²

Two attempts at a more precise description of the relationship between these sayings have been made by T. W. Manson and J. Jeremias. Manson³ holds that "the Q form of the saying (Luke 16.18) is the original. Mark 10.11a gives the sense of Luke 16.18a and makes it more precise by the addition of the words 'against her'.

Mark 10.12 is a misunderstanding of the Aramaic underlying Luke 16.18b. Matt. 19.9 is Mark 10.11 modified in the direction of Shammaite legal doctrine by the addition of the excepting clause. Matt. 5.32 is an expanded version of the part of the dictum represented by Luke 16.18b. It may be the M. version of the saying. It contains the excepting clause (as in Matt. 19.9), which here may belong to the original text of M." (his italics)

Jeremias⁴ sees it somewhat differently: he believes that the apodeictic prohibition (Mark 10.9) was later made into a legal regulation with two members, formed in casuistic terms, and the stages in its development he traces as follows: "from Matt. 5.32, without the qualification *παρατὸς λόγου πορνείας* (prohibition of the discharge of the wife and the wife's remarriage), via

¹ e.g. G. E. B. Cranfield, The Gospel according to St. Mark, p.322.

² For details see R. Schnackenburg, The Moral Teaching of the New Testament, pp.132ff.

³ The Sayings of Jesus, p.137.

⁴ New Testament Theology, I, 225.

1 Cor. 7.10f (prohibition of divorce by the wife added in view of the Hellenistic legal situation) and vv.12-16 (exception made for mixed marriages), Luke 16.18 and Mark 10.11f (prohibition of remarriage for both parties) to Matt.5.32 and 19.9 (the exception: *πορνεία*).

It must be pointed out that Manson does not discuss Mark 10.9 or 1 Cor. 7.10, and the similarity between their two accounts is greater than is at first apparent¹. The line of development envisaged by Jeremias adds support to our view that Mark 10.9 is the logion to which Paul refers in 1 Cor. 7.10.

Up to now we have based this upon two factors:

- (i) the common occurrence of *χωρισθῆναι*.
- (ii) Mark 10.9 is clearly an independent logion that has been worked into chapter 10 by Mark.

To these Jeremias now adds a third: its apodeictic form shows that it is much earlier than those influenced by casuistry.

We conclude that in 1 Cor. 7.10 Paul is quoting the saying of Jesus that is recorded in Mark 10.9,² par. Matt. 19.6.

¹ Some further questions must be asked of Manson though:

- 1. Did Mark know the Q account?
- 2. What evidence is there for Mark misunderstanding the original Aramaic behind Luke 16.18b?

² C. S. C. Williams (*Peake*) ad loc; Fannon, op.cit.p.304; Héring ad loc, C. H. Dodd *History and the Gospel* p.57; Hunter op.cit.p.46, think that Paul is not quoting any form of the saying found in the gospels but rather giving the substance of it. Most other commentators make reference to Mark 10.9 and 11, e.g. Barrett, ad loc., Moffatt, ad loc. and Davies op.cit.p.140; but Parry, ad loc., Morris, ad loc., and Stewart, op.cit.p.288, see Matt. 19.6 as being the synoptic parallel.

We should further note that a strong case can be put up for the authenticity of the saying:

1. It has an apodeictic form and displays a lack of casuistry.
2. It transcends the squabbles between the rival schools of Hillel and Shammai.
3. It goes back to the Old Testament for its authority.
4. It fits into a Palestinian milieu and had to be interpreted for the different circumstances of the Gentile world.
5. Its unequivocal nature was later toned down.

APPENDED NOTE

In our discussion above (p.48) we wrote the following sentence, "Matt.19.6 is an exact parallel of Mark 10.9 and dependent on it, so it may be left out of the discussion." The treatment of these passages by D. L. Dungan¹ has led us to think that the above quotation is in need of major modification. Dungan's findings do not affect our conclusion that the saying of Jesus, recorded in Mark 10.9 and Matt. 19.6, is the one which Paul is quoting in 1 Cor.7.10, but since he goes against the main drift of scholarly opinion by asserting the priority and essential reliability of the account of Matthew, some note should be taken of his argument.

This may be summarized under four headings:

1. The original order of the story is recorded by Matthew not Mark.

He gives a helpful table comparing the two accounts of the incident, accounts which are in general agreement as regards content, but differ as to the order. He quotes what he considers the best form-critical analysis of the passages:²

"Mark's composition is carried out in three parts: he begins with Moses' legislation concerning divorce, primarily in order to set it aside, then sets forth the fundamental Law of Creation which makes marriage dissoluble, and in his supplement for the disciples he adds two prohibitions for husband and wife, that if divorced they may not marry again. This composition is determined throughout by interest in the reader for whom the Mosaic divorce-practice is

¹ op.cit.pp.102-131

² that of Lohmeyer - Schmauch, pp.105f.

unimportant. Hence it is set aside at the outset before the positive command follows. Then an explanation is given to the disciples which appears to interpret this fundamental law for them, as the future missionaries to the Gentiles.

For the audience of Matthew, on the other hand, the marriage and divorce regulations of Moses are completely familiar. Thus there is no need to describe what Moses had commanded and what, therefore, would be the consequence if one divorced one's wife.

Instead, it is possible to begin immediately by citing the decision according to the law of Genesis. The Mosaic regulation then appears next as an objection to this decision, and this is quite properly placed in the mouth of the antagonists. Moses is then authoritatively set aside, and it is possible in a conclusion to state definitely that any new marriage by a divorced man is adultery. It is a Controversy-dialogue which lies before us, following the plan: Question/Answer, Objection/Refutation, Conclusion."¹

2. The concluding saying on Divorce/Remarriage (Matt.19.9; Mark 10.11f) appears extraneous and unmotivated in Mark, but in Matthew is an integral part of the dialogue as a whole. Matthew speaks only of man's activity (as would be expected under Jewish law), Mark makes provision for both man and woman using the active form of the verb 'divorce' in both cases (typical only of Roman and Greek law). Further, the saying in Mark is not integral to the rest of the story, being an explanation given later to the disciples, when an explanation is not required. In Matthew, however, it is part of Jesus' answer to the Pharisees, and so an integral part of the debate.

¹ The italics are Dungan's.

3. The Matthean Insertions, the so called "Exception Clauses", are nothing other than Markan Omissions.

The Pharisees' question in Matthew, "Is it against the law for a man to divorce his wife on any pretext whatsoever?" (J.B.) comes directly out of the current Pharisaic controversy between the rival schools of Hillel and Shammai over the grounds for divorce. In Mark's version the question runs "Is it against the Law for a man to divorce his wife?" (J.B.). This is very strange in view of the fact that nothing whatsoever in the Law suggests that divorce is illegal. But on the other hand, if the question is set in the context of the early Hellenistic church, it appears to fit perfectly.

The same may be seen in the concluding answer of the dialogue. Mark pictures Jesus, in a different location and addressing the disciples, without reservation prohibiting divorce and remarriage; Matthew has the concluding answer, addressed to the Pharisees, with the exception clause. This clause, far from being an insertion, is a necessary aspect of Jesus' answer given in Matt.19.4-6. Indeed P. Billerbeck made the same point over 50 years ago, "Jesus recognizes only fornication as grounds for divorce, since through it the marital union has already been destroyed."

Again, the exception clause is not a loophole in the divorce law since Jesus does not permit remarriage. "All Jesus allows is that a husband be not required to live with an unfaithful wife, but may send her away."¹

¹ p.114.

4. The whole story fits naturally into a Palestinian Pharisaic milieu.

Apart from the points already made by Dungan in favour of Matthew's account reflecting a Palestinian setting, he compares the answer of Jesus in Matthew with the position of the Qumran Community on remarriage and divorce, showing that "Jesus' outlook is very closely related to the Essenes' similar repudiation of the Pharisaic laissez-faire policy regarding remarriage."¹

Dungan concludes² that Matthew's version is more original than Mark's and represents an earlier tradition for "its formal character is beautifully intact, recondite Palestinian legal terminology appears accurately used, the apocalyptic tenor is vividly present, and there are no ecclesiastically-motivated alterations in the account itself."

He then notes the awkwardness of the disciples' reaction to this saying of Jesus, as recorded by Matthew, where they say, "If such is the case of a man with his wife, it is not expedient to marry." His explanation is that this short dialogue (vv.10-12) is a bridge over into the next saying concerning "eunuchs for the sake of the Kingdom of Heaven". He comments³, "Jesus is portrayed as holding the general position (taking 19.3-12 as a whole) that celibacy is a gift for some ("not all can receive it") while for everyone else, marriage must be once-for-all. It is a position corresponding precisely with Paul's."

¹ p.131.

² p.123.

³ pp.125f.

Mark's version also seems close to Paul for "the conclusion seems inevitable that some sort of silent burden of oral interpretation is being assumed by Mark's formulation, indeed, precisely the same sort we see operating in 1 Cor.7.10f."¹

As regards which of the Gospel versions is closest to the Pauline formulation, Dungan leaves the matter open. Hardly any agreement is found in the various discussions of the question, and the reason is clear to see: "Paul presents the command of the Lord with respect to both sexes in equal terms (like Mark), but on the other hand he preserves authentic Jewish legal terminology (unlike Mark, but like Matthew and Luke)." His citation of the saying might be a summary of his whole argument and "yet just in this he resembles all of the gospel editors who tended to summarize the account in terms of the final saying."

We had concluded, quite independently of Dungan, that in 1 Cor.7.10 Paul had in mind the saying otherwise recorded in Mark 10.9 par. Matt. 19.6. Dungan's conclusions now lead us to take one further step.

By demonstrating that Matthew's version of the incident shows fewer signs of development and adaptation made in the interests of Gentile readers, he has made it clear that although he shares the same tradition as Mark, Matthew is independent of him at this point. This should help us to lose any 'prejudice' we might have against Matthew - 'prejudice' brought about by the imperfect logic: parallel verses from Matthew and Mark are closest to Paul; Matthew's gospel was written later than and has built upon Mark's gospel; therefore Mark must be closer to Paul.

¹ p.128

In this particular case, we have seen how the more original form is found in Matthew's gospel, which at this point is independent of Mark.

The other important point that Dungan raises is that Matthew and Paul have a similar understanding of the saying, which is not shared by Mark. Since Matthew preserves an older form of the tradition than Mark, and since he is closer to Paul in his understanding of that tradition, is it completely without justification to suppose that Paul had in mind an account more like Matthew's than Mark's, and so Matt. 19.6 is the closer synoptic parallel to 1 Cor. 7.10?

(ii) 1 Cor. 9.14.

οὕτως καὶ ὁ κύριος διατάξεν τοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον
καταγγέλλουσιν ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ζῆν.

"In the same way, the Lord commanded that those who proclaim the gospel should get their living by the gospel."

The question of the support that a congregation should give Christian preachers and teachers is one to which the early church paid attention. In 1 Cor. 9 Paul insists that, as an apostle he had a right to bed and board, and to be accompanied by a wife, though he chose not to avail himself of this right (9.12; cf. 1 Thess. 2.9: 2 Thess. 3.8).¹ Of course this could, and did, lead to great abuse, so there had to be certain restrictions (2 Jn. 10f cf. Didache 11.2ff.)

Because this matter was so live an issue in the Early Church, some have come to see the mission discourses in the gospels - Mark. 6.6-13; Matt. 9.37 - 10.42; Luke 9.1-6; 10.1-20 - as creations of the Early Church read back into the life of Jesus.² Certainly there is no denying the fact that the gospel writers were greatly influenced by the needs of the primitive community in their selection, arrangement, presentation and interpretation of this gospel tradition³; but this is not the same as saying

¹ Other churches also had this obligation brought to their attention (3. John 8).

² R. Bultmann, History of the Synoptic Tradition, pp.145f, "we have a Church product here;" cf. Theology of the New Testament, I. p.86.

³ See, e.g. H. Conzelmann, The Theology of St. Luke, p.82, and the comm. Even so-called 'conservative-evangelical' scholars accept this in principle - e.g. F. F. Bruce, Tradition Old and New, p.27 (on the excepting clause Matt. 5.32; 19.9).

that it did not have any historical basis in the life of Jesus. A Sitz im Lebender Kirche does not necessarily preclude a Sitz im Leben Jesu.

Other scholars regard the basic historicity of these passages, or at any rate the historicity of the Mission of the disciples, in a very different light - T. W. Manson remarks¹ "The mission of the disciples is one of the best attested facts in the life of Jesus." So we assume that some of the sayings in Matt. 10 and Luke 10 could have come from Jesus of Nazareth.

The precise relationship between these four passages is complicated but Jeremias isolates what he calls an 'original instruction' (Mark 6.8-11; Luke 10.4-11; Matt. 10.9-14), which is the nucleus of the material common to the four discourses.² The language and conceptions of this 'original instruction' show it to have a Palestinian origin -

peace is personified - - Luke 10.5f; Matt. 10.13
shaking the dust off the feet Mark 6.11; Luke 10.11³

Jeremias goes even further and regards it as 'a piece of pre-Easter tradition' because the proclamation with which the disciples are entrusted shows a complete lack of christology.

¹ Sayings of Jesus, p.73.

² Theology of the New Testament I, p.231ff. He regards the 'logia version' (Luke and Matthew) as the more original and cites as one indication of this the personification of peace - Luke 10.5f; Matt. 10.13.

³ cf. Manson, op.cit., p.76; Strack-Billerbeck, I p.571.

M. Black, op.cit., p.216 thinks the Aramaic original has been mistranslated in Matt. 10.10 and Mark 6.8f.

This discussion of Jeremias is very helpful and in our view convincing.

Clearly Paul is not quoting the saying precisely as it is found in Luke or Matthew but we think it likely that this saying is in his mind all the same; and in support we may cite among others - Jeremias¹; Whiteley²; Manson³; Ellis⁴; Creed⁵; Machen⁶; Barrett⁷; Fannon⁸.

Most commentators simply make reference to

Matt. 10.10: ἄξιός γάρ ἐστις ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ.

Luke 10.7: ἄξιός γάρ ἐστις τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ.

but a few cite only one of the versions, namely

Luke 10.7 - Moffatt⁹; J. S. Stewart¹⁰.

Matt.10.10 - Hering¹¹; Ellis¹².

Leon Morris¹³ suggests that 1 Cor. 9.14 contains either an agraphon or a reference to Luke 10.7. Schweitzer¹⁴ on the other hand finds

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- 1 op.cit. p.232.
 - 2 op.cit. p.211
 - 3 op.cit. p.181
 - 4 commenting on Luke 10.7.
 - 5 commenting on Luke 10.7.
 - 6 op.cit. p.147
 - 7 commenting on 1 Cor.9.14.
 - 8 op.cit. p.304
 - 9 commenting on 1 Cor.9.14
 - 10 op.cit. p.288
 - 11 commenting on 1 Cor.9.14
 - 12 Paul's use of the Old Testament, p.29, n4.
 - 13 ad loc.
 - 14 The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, pp320f.

Matt.10.9f "a saying of this tenor". Usually, however, when a preference for one or other of the versions is expressed no reasons are given! Those who prefer Luke 10.7 could point to two factors:

(i) In 1 Tim. 5.18, Luke 10.7 is quoted as scripture: "for the scripture says, 'You shall not muzzle an ox when it is treading out the grain,' and, 'the labourer deserves his wages.'"

Here Deuteronomy 25.4 and Luke 10.7 are clearly coordinate.¹ The only other reference to Deuteronomy 25.4 in the New Testament is in 1 Cor.9.9, within four verses of the saying we are discussing. Again, that it is the Lucan version of the saying that is quoted in a work if not by Paul, by a member of his 'school', is surely significant.

(ii) Creed² makes an interesting observation about the resemblance in language between

Luke 10.8: ἐσθίετε τὰ παρατιθέμενα ὑμῖν (not found in the Matthaean parallel)

and 1 Cor. 10.27: πᾶν τὸ παρατιθέμενον ὑμῖν ἐσθίετε.

We probably have here an editorial addition of Luke similar to Mark 7.19³, designed to meet the problem of clean and unclean food which was causing the church of his day so much trouble. Paul faces this same problem in 1 Cor.10.27 and not only gives the same advice but does so in almost the same language. There may be no

¹ E. K. Simpson, The Pastoral Epistles ad loc. thinks that Luke's Gospel may have been regarded as inspired Scripture at this early date (he accepts Pauline authorship), but all we can say is that a saying of Jesus is given scriptural authority.

² ad loc.

³ So Cranfield ad loc; Nineham, ad loc.; Taylor ad loc.

direct dependence between these two verses but if there is then Luke must be dependent on Paul.

So, within the Pauline corpus, the Lucan version of the saying is quoted as Scripture alongside an Old Testament reference quoted by Paul in the passage we are discussing; and secondly Luke makes reference to a problem also discussed by Paul in the next chapter of 1 Corinthians using almost the same language.

On the other hand, those who prefer Matt. 10.10 need not be silent.

(i) The Matthaean form *τροφή* is probably more original than the Lucan *μισθός*.¹ This would mean that it is more likely to represent the form of the saying available to Paul.

(ii) Dodd² notes that Matthew concludes his account of the instructions which Jesus gave the Twelve with the words, (11.1)

ὅτι ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς διὰτίσων τοῖς δώδεκα μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ.

So both Matthew and Paul regard this saying as a *διάταγμα* of Jesus to the church.

We may summarize the above by saying that Matthew appears to give us a more original version of the saying and accords it a similar status in the church as Paul, whereas Luke shows clear links with Paul in the way in which the application of the saying developed.

¹ So J. Jeremias, Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus, p.113 n20. He feels that this is "assured by rabbinic analogies as well as by the freer Pauline rendering in 1 Cor. 9.14." We may add that in view of Matthew's obvious liking for *μισθός*, the case for the originality of *τροφή* is that much stronger.

² *Ὁ νόμος Χριστοῦ* in More New Testament Studies, pp.141f.

If anything the version of Matthew, being more original, is more likely to have been the one known to Paul but this can only be a very tentative suggestion.

APPENDED NOTE

D. L. Dungan's treatment of the Mission Discourses in the Synoptic Gospels¹ is an important piece of form-critical research which challenges many strongly held assumptions of New Testament scholarship.

He examines the interrelation of the synoptic accounts and comes to the following conclusions:

A. Luke 10.1-12, his "so-called Q-block", shows clear signs of editorial activity.

1. The number of seventy-two ties it up with Gentile missionary activity, there being seventy-two nations in the world according to common reckoning.

2. Luke breaks up the pericope to insert the saying about lambs in the middle of wolves (v.3), in order to give his own interpretation of the regulations that follow (v.4). Dungan quotes, with admiration, Conzelmann, "In Matt. 10.16 the emphasis is on the threats to which the disciples are exposed In Luke on the other hand, the emphasis is on the protection which they will enjoy in the midst of danger. For whereas in Matthew, the meaning appears in 10.16 itself, in Luke (the meaning of the lamb/wolf saying comes out) in the directions which follow concerning equipment. Luke states their significance explicitly in 22.35: they represent (Luke's view of) the absolute peacefulness of the period of Jesus."²

¹ op.cit. pp41-80.

² The italics and brackets are Dungan's.

3. The prohibition about door to door begging in v.7b is out of place in a Palestinian-Jewish milieu but fits a later condition in the Church perfectly.

4. Similarly v.8b "eat whatever is set before you", reflects the food problems that arose in the Gentile mission area. Matthew, on the other hand has no regulations on this topic.

Dungan concludes that Luke 10.1-12 is an independently revised form of Q.

B. Luke 9.1-5, his "so-called Markan block".

Dungan argues against the common view that Luke simply follows Mark's account here by showing that where Luke 9 differs from Luke 10 and Mark 6, he is in agreement with Matt. 10.

1. Luke 9.2 and Matt. 10.7 show the most important agreement between them.

2. The mention of silver (money) and the staff in Luke 9.3 and Matt. 10.9f is completely absent from Luke 10 and Mark 6.

He concludes, making reference to the comparative chart, found in an appendix to his book, that "Luke 9.1-5 is a curious but thorough conflation of Q material and Markan structure."¹

C. Matt. 10.1-16, his "co-called conflation of Mark, Q and M".

He confines his discussion to vv. 7-16 since the setting and the insertion of the names of the twelve are secondary. He points out how well these verses fit into the milieu of the ministry of Jesus.

¹ op.cit. p.51.

1. v.8b "could not be a more authentic expression of typical early-first-century Judean sentiment regarding the matter of payment for religious duty."¹ In Pharisaic circles after 70 A.D., and in the early Church, opinion tended towards the direct opposite of the view of this saying.
 2. v.9 "is perfectly expressive of an idea in Jesus' contemporaneous Judaea, namely among the Essenes."²
 3. vv.11-15. According to his interpretation, the disciples, going from village to village "will flush out into the open, as it were, the concrete lineaments of the Final Decision regarding the actual individuals they meet."³ On those who reject them, they are to pronounce God's own eschatological judgment.
- v.16, which may have been added by Matthew to make a transition to the following instructions, conveys well both the sense of crisis and the tremendous requirement now laid upon the disciples. Dungan goes on to argue for the originality of Matthew's version as against the other three, using the points made above and noting how Mark's version (6.7-11) omits anything that might prove difficult to understand in the Gentile mission area.
- What then, he asks, was the character of the support to be accorded to the disciples in the original account?
- His answer is that this support
1. was basically nothing more than a matter of kinsman-hospitality.
 2. The journey was to be so brief - limited to Galilee, that Jesus assures the disciples that the brethren will take care of them.

¹ op.cit. p.54.

² op.cit. p.55.

³ op.cit. p.57.

So any notion of salary is completely excluded from the original account.

As regards the attitude of the gospel editors to this issue, he believes that Matthew generally preserves intact the early tradition (probably resting on actual events in the ministry of Jesus) which he had received. Though in v.8b we have a Matthaean insertion limiting the scope of Jesus' saying, Luke, he thinks, goes further, and makes Jesus, in 22.35f, repudiate the whole notion of support; he makes Paul appear to do the same in Acts 20.33-35. Mark, on the other hand, stands out against the other two in understanding the instructions of Jesus as applying to the early Church.

The most important part of Dungan's discussion, as far as we are concerned is his treatment of the workman saying, Matt. 10.10; Luke 10.7.¹ He seems to agree with the view that this saying is the basis of Paul's command of the Lord in 1 Cor. 9.14. As regards which version is closer to Paul Dungan's comment may be quoted in full:²

"When Paul actually specifies what his authority consists in, he seems to be referring precisely to the Matthean version. He says that he has the authority (to be provided with something to) eat and drink (9.4). Furthermore, this specific idea of food appears again in the priest-Levite analogy, which is the actual point at which Paul introduces the command of the Lord in that peculiarly subordinating manner. The whole point of that analogy is that the priests and Levites were entitled to get their food from the Temple sacrifices. Putting this 'food' emphasis together with

¹ op.cit. pp. 78f.

² op.cit. p.79

the reliance upon the 'workman' image throughout the rest of his argument, it is difficult to conclude otherwise than that Matthew's version of the saying "the workman is worthy of his food", is the saying Paul is assuming in 1 Cor. 9.14." Though he qualifies this conclusion with a couple of big 'ifs':- If Paul is presupposing any saying now known from the synoptic material, and if it is the workman saying as most think, then it would have to be Matthew's not Luke's version." (Italics his.)

Laying aside what we consider to be overcautious qualifying 'ifs', we think Dungan's argument is sound. The very tentative suggestion that was put forward on p.66 may now be reiterated with much more confidence: Matthew's version of the workman saying is most likely to be the one that Paul has in mind when he cites the command of the Lord in 1 Cor. 9.14, though it had not, of course, at this time been incorporated into Matthew's completed gospel.

I THESSALONIANS 4.15.

Τοῦτο γὰρ ὑμῖν λέγομεν ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες
οἱ περιλειπόμενοι εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ κυρίου οὐ μὴ
ῥηθῶμεν τοὺς κοιμηθέντας

Clearly whether we are prepared to call this verse a saying of Jesus or not, will depend largely on our interpretation of the phrase ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου. So we survey the occurrence and meaning of this phrase and the closely related ones -

"Thy word", "the word of God", "the word of the Lord Jesus Christ".

a. The Synoptic Gospels.

Matt. 15.6: the word of God. The reference is to the fifth commandment.

Mark 7.13: the word of God. As above.

Luke 5.1: the word of God. The reference is to the preaching of Jesus.

Luke 8.11,21: the word of God. The reference is to the preaching of the gospel.

Luke 21.61: the word of the Lord. The reference is to a saying of Jesus.

b. The Acts of the Apostles.

These phrases occur twenty times in the Acts. In all but one of these, the reference is to the preaching or content of the apostolic kerygma. The exception is Acts 20.35; the words of the Lord Jesus, and the reference is to the otherwise unrecorded saying, "It is better to give than to receive." The only other occurrence of "words" in this phrase is in 1 Tim.6.3.

From the passages quoted above we see that these phrases are cited mostly by Luke (25 times in his Gospel and Acts; and only once in Matthew and once in Mark) and in all but two of his passages he uses them to refer to the preaching of Jesus and the early preachers,

a sense it does not have in the other gospels.¹

c. The Gospel and Epistles of John, the Revelation of John.

John 10.35: the word of God. The reference is to the Law or possibly a direct word from God to the prophets.

John 17.14,17: Thy word. "Jesus committed unto them the truth of his relation to God." (C.K. Barrett²)

John 18.32: the word of Jesus. The reference is to a saying of Jesus.

1 John 2.14: the word of God. The reference is to Christ or to the gospel.

Rev. 1.2: the word of God - "purpose declared by God."
(Caird ad loc.)

Rev. 1.9: the word of God - the reference is to the gospel or the preaching of the gospel.

Rev. 6.9: the word of God.- the reference is to the gospel.

Rev. 17.17: the words of God. A reference to Old Testament prophecies?

Rev. 19.9: true words of God. The words given to John by the angel.

Rev. 19.13: the word of God. The name of the rider of the white horse. cf. John 8.55.

Rev. 20.4: the word of God. The reference is to the gospel.

¹ If we take the Johannine evidence into consideration, it could be argued that John 18.32 refers to the preaching of Jesus, but we think it refers to his private teaching to the disciples.

² The Gospel according to St. John, ad loc.

d. The Pauline Epistles.

Rom. 9.6: the word of God. Sanday and Headlam¹ give the meaning as "the declared purpose of God." Other commentators render it - "his foundation declaration,"² "his word of promise,"³ the Gospel.⁴

1 Cor. 14.36: the word of God. The reference is to the gospel and its interpretation (perhaps given ecstatically?)

2 Cor. 2.17: the word of God. The reference is to the gospel.

2 Cor. 4.2: the word of God. As above.

Phil. 1.14: the word of God. As above.

Col. 1.25: the word of God. As above.

Col. 3.16: the word of Christ. As above, though Moffatt translates, "The inspiration of Christ" suggesting, perhaps, some sort of inner voice.⁵

1 Thess. 1.8: the word of the Lord. As 2 Cor. 2.17.

1 Thess. 2.13: the word of God. As above.

2 Thess. 3.1: the word of the Lord. As above.

1 Thess. 4.15: - the passage under discussion.

¹ The Epistle to the Romans, ad loc.

² F. J. Leenhardt, The Epistle to the Romans, ad loc.

³ C. K. Barrett, The Epistle to the Romans, ad loc.

⁴ K. Barth, A Shorter Commentary on Romans, ad loc.

⁵ E. F. Scott commenting on this passage in The Epistles of Paul to the Colossians, to Philemon and to the Ephesians, in the 'Moffatt New Testament Commentary' series views this translation possible but thinks that a reference to the Christian message is more likely.

e. The Pastoral Epistles.

- 1 Tim. 4.5: the word of God. The reference is to grace before meals.
- 1 Tim. 6.3: the sound words of our Lord Jesus Christ. This appears to refer to recorded sayings of Jesus. of Acts 20.35.
- 2 Tim. 2.9: the word of God. The reference is to the gospel.
- Tit. 2.5: the word of God. As above.

f. The Rest of the New Testament.

- Heb. 4.12: the word of God. "God speaking to his people both in the old dispensation and in the new."¹
- Heb. 13.7: the word of God. The reference is to the gospel.
- 1 Pet. 1.23: the word of God. God's saving action through the preaching of the gospel.
- 2 Pet. 3.5: the word of God. God's word in creation, cf. Gen. 1.2-6

The information collected above may be put in the form of a table, as follows:

¹ H. W. Montefiore, The Epistle to the Hebrews, ad loc.

	Total	The Gospel	The Old Testament	Jesus as the content of the Gospel	Sayings of Jesus	Others
The Synoptic Gospels	7	4	2		1	
The Acts of the Apostles	20	19			1	
The Gospel and Epistles of John, the Revelation of John	12	3	2	1	1	5
The Pauline Epistles (excluding 1 Thess. 4.15)	10	9				1
The Pastoral Epistles	4	2			1	1
The Rest of the New Testament	4	3				1

We now turn to the four passages where there seems to be reference to sayings of Jesus:

(i) Luke 22.61: "And Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how he had said to him, 'Before the cock crows today, you will deny me three times.'"

In this passage the variant ^{c/}ῥήματος has fairly strong support and is adopted by Westcott and Hort.¹

(ii) Acts 20.35: "remembering the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, 'It is more blessed to give than to receive.'"

(iii) John 18.32: "This was to fulfil the word which Jesus had spoken to show by what death he was to die." Most commentators think the reference here is to John 12.32f: "'and I, when I am lifted up from the earth, will draw all men to myself.' He said this to show by what death he was to die."

(iv) 1 Tim. 6.3f: "If anyone teaches otherwise and does not agree with the sound words of our Lord Jesus Christ and the teaching which accords with godliness, he is puffed up with conceit." Acts 20.35 which refers to a saying of Jesus, and 1 Tim. 6.3 which refers to a number of sayings both have the plural "words".

This leaves John 18.32 as the only textually undisputed passage in the New Testament where a phrase incorporating λόγος (in the singular) introduces a saying of Jesus.

In Paul "the word of the Lord" occurs three times and all in the Thessalonian correspondence: 1 Thess 1.8, 4.15, and 2 Thess. 3.1. The reference in 1 Thess. 1.8 and 2 Thess. 3.1 along with 1 Thess. 2.13 ("the word of God") is to the gospel preached by Paul. Should 1 Thess. 4.15 not be taken in the same way?

¹ The New Testament in the Original Greek. The text revised by B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, London 1881.

Elsewhere in his epistles, when Paul introduces a saying of Jesus he uses a number of formulae:

1 Cor. 7.10: παραγγέλλω οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀλλὰ ὁ κύριος

1 Cor. 9.14: οὕτως καὶ ὁ κύριος διέταξεν

1 Cor. 11.23: ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν

and he does not use the expression [ὁ] λόγος [τοῦ] κυρίου in this context.

So then, we may say that against taking 1 Thess. 4.15 as a reference to a saying of Jesus are the following:

- (i) All the other occurrences of the phrase in Paul, (one of which is in the same epistle) refer to the preaching of the gospel.
- (ii) There is only one textually undisputed passage in the New Testament where λόγος in the singular refers to a saying of Jesus. It is in John's Gospel and does not introduce a saying but refers back to one some six chapters earlier.
- (iii) When a saying is quoted or referred to (apart from John 18.32) the plural "words" is used.
- (iv) Paul uses other phrases when quoting a saying of Jesus, though the fact that he uses three different formulae for introducing three different sayings takes away from the force of this objection.
- (v) There is wide disagreement about what precisely constitutes the saying that Paul is supposed to be quoting. Several suggestions have been made about the content of the word of the Lord:

v.15; 16a, 16 without πρῶτον 16-17, 15-17.

We feel the problem can be narrowed down to the question,

"Does vv.16f expand on the saying in v.15 or vice versa?"

J. Jeremias¹ follows Dibelius in noting the difference in style

¹ Unknown Sayings of Jesus, pp.80ff.

between v.15 (epistolary) and v.16 (apocalyptic). With the concluding words of v.17 as Pauline he is left with the saying in vv.16-17a and v.15 is an "introductory summary" of Paul.

J. A. T. Robinson¹ finds the saying in v.16 but does not think it is a genuine agraphon. O. Cullmann² finds the saying in v.15 as do Bicknell³, Morris⁴, Eadie⁵, and Frame⁶.

It is difficult to decide which is the saying. On a straight-forward reading of the text it would appear that v.15 is the saying and v.16 is an application and expansion of it; but one cannot be certain. This uncertainty is another factor that weighs against this being a saying of the Lord. For in all the other places where Paul quotes Jesus - 1 Cor. 7.10; 9.14; 11.23ff; (see also Acts 20.35 and even John 18.32⁷) - there is not such uncertainty as to what he is quoting.

(vi) It is difficult to find a close parallel in the teaching of Jesus recorded in the Gospels.

The following passages should be noted:

Mark 13.26, par. Matt. 24.30f; "And then they will see the son of man coming in clouds with great power and glory."

¹ Jesus and His Coming, p.25.

² Salvation in History, pp.211ff.

³ ad loc.

⁴ ad loc.

⁵ ad loc.

⁶ ad loc.

⁷ The repeated "to show by what death he was to die".

(John 12.33; 18.32) shows clearly that a reference to the saying recorded in John 12.32 was intended.

Luke 14.14: "And you will be blessed, because they cannot repay you. You will be repaid at the resurrection of the just."

Matt. 16.27: "For the Son of man is to come with his angels in the glory of his Father, and then he will repay every man for what he has done."

Mark 9.1: "Truly, I say to you, there are some standing here who will not taste death before they see the kingdom of God come with power."

John 6.44: "No one can come to me unless the Father who sent me draws him; and I will raise him up at the last day."

None of these passages is sufficiently close to 1 Thess. 4.15-17 for us to see any direct quotation.

One further question deserves attention: In view of the links between vv.16f and Jewish apocalyptic thought, is it likely that the saying goes back to Jesus at all?

Jeremias¹ grants that Jesus could never have uttered this saying in the form we find in Paul for:

1. The introductory formula $\alphaὐτὸς ὁ κύριος$ must be a Pauline substitution for an original $\delta \psi\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \zeta\upsilon\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon$
2. The $\epsilon\nu \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}$ must be an explanatory addition.
3. The $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$ of v.17 must be the word of a christian not of Christ. Nevertheless, he thinks the saying, in a slightly different form, does go back to Jesus, though in support he can only point to the common origin (Dan. 7.13) and imagery of Mark 13.26f, par. Matt. 24.30f. He also thinks that Jesus may have shared Paul's concern about what would happen to those already dead. He cites 4 Ezra 5.42:

¹ op.cit. p.81.

"I shall liken my judgment to a circle; just as for those who are last there is no slowness, so for those who are first there is no haste."

In the first edition of his book he comments¹: "This problem was certainly in the air. And if we want to know why Jesus was particularly concerned with it, the only answer I can see is that he repeatedly prophesied martyrdom for some, at any rate, of his disciples. (Mark 8.34; 10.39f; 13.12f; Matt.10.28; 24.9; John 16.2)"

In the second edition², however, this confident assertion is omitted and the connection with martyrdom is played down. No doubt he has modified his position in response to the criticism of Kummel,³ Guy⁴, and Glasson⁵, among others.

¹ pp.66f.

² p.82.

³ Promise and Fulfilment, p.52 n 107.

⁴ The New Testament Doctrine of the Last Things, pp.122f.

⁵ The Second Advent, p.171: "To find the true origin of the Parousia Teaching of 1 and 2 Thessalonians we are not to go to the teaching of Jesus, and then to Enoch, and then to Persian eschatology. Rather, as the language suggests we are to go straight from these passages in 1 and 2 Thessalonians, as representing early church teaching, to the Old Testament. The connecting link was the conviction that Jesus was Lord." In an explanatory note to this in the third edition, pp.176ff, he adds, "... I do not wish to exclude the point that some word of Jesus may have given the original impulse." In a very recent article 'The Second Advent - 25 Years Later', Expository Times, July 1971, pp.307-309, he repeats this view.

In this matter, it is difficult to be dogmatic on either side. The question of the Son of Man in the gospels is a vexed one, but many scholars see the eschatological sayings of the Son of Man as going back to Jesus himself. So, laying aside the question of whether Jesus ever identified himself with the Son of Man, we can grant the probability that he used familiar images from Jewish apocalyptic in his teaching. The fact, then, that 1 Thess 4.16f uses such images leaves open the question under discussion - the saying could go back to Jesus¹, we have, however, given six reasons why we think it does not.

If the words *ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου* do not imply a quotation of a saying of Jesus, what other interpretation can be put on them? Various suggestions have been offered:

(i) Calvin suggested that these verses contain a saying uttered by Jesus during the forty day period between his resurrection and ascension.

(ii) It could be an unrecorded saying similar to Acts 20.35. This view is held by Jeremias², Denney³, who finds it possible and Leon Morris⁴, not improbable.

¹ With each fresh look at the arguments of Glasson, we become less sure of this statement.

² op.cit. p.14; of New Testament Theology I, p.273.

³ ad loc.

⁴ ad loc.

(iii) Some think it is a saying directly revealed by the risen Christ, e.g. Eadie¹, Schweitzer², Hunter³, and Bultmann⁴ think it possible, and J. B. Lightfoot⁵, probable.

(iv) "The gospel as Paul had received it" - W. L. Knox⁶.

None of these suggestions is satisfactory.

(i) I know of no modern scholar who follows Calvin here.

(ii) It could be an agraphon, in which case, I think the saying would be much more succinct. See also Masson's point below.

(iii) One of the most recent commentators on Thessalonians, D. E. H. Whiteley⁷ refers to the arguments of C. Masson⁸ that here we have information directly revealed to Paul.

Masson notes that the future coming of the Lord was one of the burning issues within the early Christian community. If such a saying had come down from Jesus it is very difficult to understand why it was not incorporated into one of the gospels, especially when a considerable portion of the recorded teaching of Jesus may be termed apocalyptic. So it can hardly be an agraphon.

¹ ad loc.

² The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, p.174.

³ Paul and his Predecessors, p.46.

⁴ Theology of the New Testament, I, pp.188f.

⁵ Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul, p.65.

⁶ St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles, p.90 n.1.

⁷ Thessalonians, in the New Clarendon Bible, ad loc.

⁸ Les Deux Épîtres de Saint Paul aux Thessaloniens.

This point is well made. As Whiteley correctly notes, the needs of early Christians while not leading the gospel writers to invent sayings of Jesus, must have influenced them greatly in their selection of the material to be incorporated into the gospels.

Masson goes on, and finds a close parallel in substance and language between this passage and 1 Cor. 15.51f where, in a passage dealing with the last day Paul makes reference to a "mystery". He thinks that "the mystery" and "the word of the Lord" both refer to a revelation Paul received from the risen Christ. This second point carries much less force.

1 Cor. 15.51f reads: "Lo! I tell you a mystery. We shall not all sleep, but we shall be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet. For the trumpet will sound, and the dead will be raised imperishable, and we shall be changed." Some assume that the term 'mystery' refers to information of God and his purposes which could not have been ascertained by any human means but was revealed directly by God. Certainly *μυστήριον* is used with terms for revelation:

ἀποκάλυψις Rom. 16.25; Eph. 3.3.

ἀποκαλύπτειν 1 Cor. 2.10; Eph. 3.5.

and yet we do not think that it always implies a direct revelation.

The mystery of God is revealed in the apostolic preaching:

καταγγέλλειν 1 Cor. 2.1; *ἀγγεῖν* 1 Cor. 2.7; Col. 4.3;

εὐαγγελίζεσθαι Eph. 3.8; *φωτίζειν* Eph. 3.9;

φανεροῦν Col. 4.4. Now, since Paul could communicate the mystery by his own words, spoken and written, it is possible that the mystery was communicated to him by similar human means. Bornkamm¹ is correct when he notes that in 1 Cor. 15.51f Paul does not tell

¹ *μυστήριον*,

from this article.

T.D.N.T. IV p.823. We have drawn heavily

us whence he derived this apostolic insight. He simply calls it a mystery.

Secondly, Christ is the mystery of God (Col.2.2) and to preach Christ crucified (1 Cor. 1.23) is to preach the mystery¹ of God (1 Cor.2.1) and to impart 'a secret and hidden wisdom' (1 Cor. 2.7) - the mystery of God is revealed in Christ and imported as he is preached. Now the facts of Christ's death and resurrection were known to Jews as well as to Christians but the mystery was not revealed to them - they had not experienced the indwelling of the risen Saviour, the content of the mystery, "Christ in you" (Col.1.27). This was something beyond the calculation of the human mind.²

So it would appear that, in general, *μυστήριον* refers not so much to any direct means by which some information of God's purposes is revealed, but rather to the fact that such information is beyond the reach of human wisdom and even appears as foolishness to it. Others who support the direct revelation view do not subscribe to Masson's treatment of 'mystery'. But nowhere does Paul give us information which he can be clearly shown to have gained in this way. Indeed in 2 Cor. 12.4, he tells us that what was learnt by direct ecstatic experience could not be communicated to another.³ Morris⁴ suggests that Paul was "pondering a problem under the guidance of the Holy Spirit in accordance with his claim in 1 Cor. 2.16 to have the mind of Christ." We think it unlikely that Paul would

¹ Other authorities read *μαρτύριον* here, this is preferred by the R.S.V. and Aland, Novum Testamentum Graece, 25 Auf.

² Compare 1 Cor. 1.18ff where Paul contrasts what can be known by human wisdom with the mystery of God which confounds all such wisdom.

³ We deal further with direct revelation in our discussion of Gal.1.11f.

⁴ ad loc.

introduce a product of his own reasoning as a saying of the Lord. This is not to deny that he saw himself guided by the Spirit and having the mind of Christ. We just do not think he would have introduced it in this way, especially when we consider his great care in differentiating sayings of Jesus from all else in 1 Cor.7.

(iv) Knox's view is inadequate on two counts -

a. It does not attempt to explain how the unusual *λόγος κυρίου* is applied to the Gospel which Paul received.

b. He thinks *ῥῆμα* would be more natural for a quotation than *λόγος* as in Acts 11.16. This judgment presumably accepts the Westcott and Hort text of Luke 22.61 but even so the evidence is far too slender for any confident judgment to be made based solely on the occurrence of *λόγος* and *ῥῆμα*.

If none of these views are satisfactory, what meaning are we to attach to the phrase *ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου*?

We note from the list on p. 74 that the phrase "the word of the Lord" only occurs in two other places in Paul's writings and both of them in the Thessalonian correspondence:

1 Thess 1.8: "For not only has the word of the Lord sounded forth from you in Macedonia and Achaia ..."

2. Thess. 3.1: "Finally, brethren, pray for us, that the word of the Lord may speed on and triumph, as it did among you."

It is clear, especially from the second passage that the phrase refers to the preaching activity of Paul, and the content of that preaching - the gospel. In 1 Thess. 2.13 Paul calls his message the "word of God" which was received as such by the Thessalonians and not as the word of men; that is, they recognised that the content of his preaching had greater authority than any that Paul could give it - it had the authority of the word of God. Paul

refers to this recognition of the true authority of his preaching in 2 Thess. 3.1 when he talks of the word of the Lord speeding on and triumphing "as it did among you".

In his present correspondence Paul is claiming the same authority for the instructions about practical living which he had given them when he was with them (2 Thess. 3.10) and which he repeats to them now: 2 Thess. 3.6: "we command you brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you keep away from any brother who is living in idleness and not in accord with the tradition that you received from us". So also 3.12.

It would seem reasonable that Paul considered his teaching about the Parousia to have the same authority as the other teaching which he had given them and was giving them again. So, in 1 Thess. 4.15, Paul is claiming such authority for his teaching. So perhaps the best translation of this verse is that of the Twentieth Century New Testament:

"This we tell you on the authority of the Lord."¹

If the view above is correct, that 1 Thess. 4.15 does not refer to a saying of Jesus, then it may be omitted from any further discussion.

¹ Quoted in The New Testament from Twenty-Six Translations.

Conclusion.

At the end of our examination of the four words of the Lord we may draw the following conclusions:

1. There are not four, but only three places where Paul appears to be quoting a saying of Jesus. In 1 Thess 4.15 it is likely that Paul is not quoting such but rather referring to teaching he had already given to the Thessalonians during his ministry in their midst.
2. Paul's account of the Last Supper seems closest to the account found in Luke.
3. In the other two passages, (1 Cor. 7.10; 9.14) Paul's quotations (if such they both be) seem closer to sayings in Matthew than in either of the other two gospels.

OTHER COMMANDS OF THE LORD

1 CORINTHIANS 14.37

εἴ τις δοκεῖ προφήτης εἶναι ἢ πνευματικός, ἐπιγινώσκέτω
ὅτι γράφω ὑμῖν ὅτι κυρίου ἐστὶν ἐντολή.

"If anyone thinks that he is a prophet or spiritual, he should acknowledge that what I am writing to you is a command of the Lord."

Matthew records Jesus as citing Ex. 20.12 and 21.17 as commands

of God, ἐντολῇ¹ Can it be said that in this passage Paul

has a specific saying or sayings in mind when he uses this phrase?

A number of manuscripts end the verse at κυρίου; if they be accepted the question can not be put, for there is then no reference to a 'commandment of the Lord'.

(a) The text quoted above is read by p.46, \mathcal{N} , A, B, C, H, I, M, etc.

(b) Some manuscripts read the plural ἐντολαί - K, L, Vg. and Syr.

(c) Some manuscripts omit ἐντολή - D*, G, it.; T.

The (b) reading is clearly inferior, though accepted by the A.V., and may be set aside. Although (a) has the strongest basis in good manuscripts, (c) has some prominent supporters, among them C. K. Barrett who comments "it is much more likely that the short text was made more explicit by the addition of 'command(s)' than vice versa."² Robertson and Plummer maintain reading (a) but note that (c) is "impressive".³ Moffatt⁴ accepts (a) and notes that nowhere else in the New Testament is the singular 'command' used in this connection. For this reason, in his opinion, some manuscripts read the plural or omit the phrase altogether.

¹ Matt. 15.3f cf. 19.17ff.

² ad loc. cf. C. H. Dodd, *Ἐνωμος Χριστοῦ* p. 143 n Bruce ad loc.

³ ad loc

⁴ ad loc

There can be little doubt that (a) has the best manuscript support. While good arguments can be advanced in favour of (c), they are not strong enough for it to be accepted without question, nor to answer the question we asked above, by stating it should not be posed!

In 1 Cor. 14 Paul is discussing some aspects of Christian worship - in particular the relative merits of speaking in tongues and prophesying. He encourages his readers to apply themselves to prophecy rather than speaking in tongues, for it requires no interpretation, edifies the whole church, and is an effective means of evangelism. He gives some guidelines as to how different prophets may participate in worship, instructs women to be silent in church, and concludes by saying that any true prophet will know that his comments - $\hat{\epsilon}\hat{\nu}\hat{\nu}\hat{\alpha}\hat{\gamma}\hat{\rho}\hat{\alpha}\hat{\phi}\hat{\omega}\hat{\varsigma}\hat{\mu}\hat{\iota}\hat{\nu}$ - are the command of the Lord.

That $\hat{\epsilon}\hat{\nu}\hat{\nu}\hat{\alpha}\hat{\gamma}\hat{\rho}\hat{\alpha}\hat{\phi}\hat{\omega}\hat{\varsigma}\hat{\mu}\hat{\iota}\hat{\nu}$ refers to the whole of the previous discussion in chapter 14 and not just to one particular instruction in it seems clear. Three points should be noted:

1. The whole drift of the chapter points to this interpretation.
2. It is very difficult to find any saying or sayings in the passage that would constitute a clear cut $\hat{\epsilon}\hat{\nu}\hat{\tau}\hat{\omicron}\hat{\lambda}\hat{\eta}$ such as we find, for example, in Matt. 15.4f, 19.18f, Mark 10 6f, etc.; and Resch is hardly correct in finding an agraphon here¹. Virtually all the commentators agree with C. K. Barrett,² "Paul does not mean that he is quoting the teaching of Jesus, but that 'he too has the mind of Christ' and has 'authority for building you up.'"

¹ see Robertson and Plummer, ad loc

² ad loc. So also Morris, Hodge, Robertson and Plummer, Héring, Bruce, Williams (New Peake) Mickolaski (N.B.C.R.) Moffatt, and E. Käsemann in 'Sentences of Holy Law in the New Testament', New Testament Questions of Today, (London) 1969, pp. 66-81; C. H. Dodd, op.cit. pp. 142f.

Is he alluding generally to the teaching of Jesus? This is a much more difficult question to answer - by what criteria does one establish general allusions? - But since nothing in the gospels appears to deal with the specific problems met in this passage, - the ordering of glossolalia and prophecy in worship - and since the problems raised are more likely to have come from a Gentile environment - would Jewish-Christian women have needed reminding to be silent in church? - we can, we feel, answer this question in the negative.

3. Paul calls on the spiritual man, *προφήτης ἢ πνευματικός*, to recognise that he is writing the command of the Lord. This is surely significant. Earlier in this letter, when quoting a saying of the Lord, Paul is content to state the saying (1 Cor. 7.10; 9.14) and leave it at that, no doubt because all can recognise that it is a saying of the Lord. In 14.37, however, he imagines that some may not accept that what he is saying is a command of the Lord, but the man of spiritual discernment will. "Some of the Corinthians thought they had spiritual discernment. Let them show it by recognising inspiration when they saw it."¹

A closer parallel to this verse than 1 Cor. 7.10 would appear to be 7.25 where Paul has no command, *ἐπιταγή*, of the Lord, but his opinion is trustworthy (no doubt because he has the Spirit of God, 7.40). 14.37 is phrased as it is because it comes in a section dealing specifically with prophets and tongues-speakers. E. Käsemann finds in this verse an example of what he calls 'charismatic law',² a law in which God himself remains the agent³ and which is "to be promulgated and executed by charismatic men."

¹ Morris ad loc.

² Käsemann op.cit. p.73.

³ *ἡ νοεῖται*, 1 Cor. 14.38, is a sort of Divina Passiva.

The details of Käsemann's essay need not detain us, since our concern is merely to see if Paul could be quoting some recorded saying of Jesus, rather than making some declaration about the will of God under the influence of the Spirit of God. Yet, he is surely right in dismissing any antithesis between spirit and law.¹ He goes as far as to say that in this verse "a real edict of the Holy Spirit is being promulgated."² For our specific purpose, however, his argument adds weight to the case for an inspired utterance rather than a recorded saying. Indeed the case for this view seems overwhelming. Paul then is saying "my ruling on this subject of spiritual gifts is not mine, but the Lord's; and the man of the Spirit, the man with the gift of prophecy, will show his quality by recognizing this to be true."³

¹ op.cit. p.72

² op. cit. p.75

³ Bruce ad loc. Since this is also the interpretation of the shorter text, it adds weight to the case for accepting it as the better reading.

POSSIBLE ALLUSIONS TO
SAYINGS OF JESUS

Though we have found only three places where Paul expressly quotes a saying of the Lord, we believe that on a number of other occasions he alludes (consciously or otherwise) to teaching of Jesus which is also recorded in the Synoptic Gospels. The tables in Hunter¹ and Davies² clearly show that most of these allusions occur in blocks in the ethical sections of some of the epistles. As no two writers are in complete agreement as to the extent and number of these allusions we shall not follow anyone's particular list but rather a compilation, made up of suggestions from various sources, noting in each case who considers it an allusion.

¹ Paul and his Predecessors, pp. 47ff.

² Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 138ff.

ROMANS 12-14.

Romans 12.1 marks the beginning of the second main section of the letter, in which "Paul draws out the ethical implications of the foregoing theological teachings",¹ or to put it another way, "the 'therefore' of v.1 marks the transition from the defended doctrines of justification, sanctification and election to applied Christianity."²

In the midst of this ethical teaching the following have been considered allusions to sayings of Jesus:

Romans 12 -

(i) 12.14:³ εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς διώκοντάς, εὐλογεῖτε καὶ μὴ κατὰ ὁδοῦ

¹ T. W. Manson (Peake) ad loc.

² Davison and Martin (N.B.C.R.) ad loc.

³ Considered as an allusion by: J. S. Stewart op.cit. p.289; A. M. Hunter, op.cit. p.47; W. D. Davies, op.cit. p.138; W. Sanday, 'Paul', appendix to Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels, ed J. Hastings, II p.888; P. Fannon, op.cit. p.304; V. P. Furnish, Theology and Ethics in Paul, p.53; H. N. Ridderbos, op.cit. p.50; H. A. A. Kennedy, The Theology of the Epistles, p.144; C. H. Dodd, Gospel and Law, p.48; A. Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, p.173; Davison and Martin (N.B.C.R.) ad loc.; J. Denney, 'Romans', in The Expositors Greek Testament, II ad loc.; C. H. Dodd, ad loc.; F. J. Leenhardt, ad loc.; C. E. B. Cranfield, A Commentary on Romans 12-13 ad loc., cf. Bultmann op.cit. I. p.188; Schoeps, Paul, p.56; Ellis, Paul's use of the Old Testament, pp.85f; J. Knox, Romans, I.B. ad loc.

⁴ See note I, next page.

cf. Matthew 5.44: ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς.

Luke 6.28: εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, προσεύχεσθε περὶ τῶν ἐπηρεάζοντων ὑμᾶς.

Affinities with Matthew 5.44:

a. Sense.

"Bless your persecutors, bless and do not curse."

"Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you."

b. Verbal similarities.

διώκω - common to both

ἀγαπάτε and εὐλογεῖτε are similar in sense as are προσεύχεσθε and μὴ καταρῶσθε

Affinities with Luke 6.28.

a. Sense.

"Bless your persecutors, bless and do not curse."

"Bless those who curse you and pray for those who abuse you."

b. Verbal similarities.

εὐλογεῖτε is common to both.

καταρῶμαι is common to both.

μὴ καταρῶσθε is approximately equivalent to προσεύχεσθε as is ἐπηρεάζοντων to διωκόντων

¹ It seems better to omit the ὑμᾶς after διώκοντας, though it is read by \mathcal{N}^{AD} and most other Greek manuscripts and the Old Latin ones as well; it is omitted by p.46, B and a few other Greek manuscripts as well as Clement of Alexandria. It is best explained as being influenced by Matthew 5.44.

We can agree with C. K. Barrett¹ that "Paul quotes neither of these verses, but it is probable that he has behind him the tradition of the Lord's words."

(ii) 12.17a: *μηδὲν κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἀποδιδόντες.*

This verse is clearly "not a citation of any synoptic word, but a probable echo of Christ's teaching."² Cranfield³ remarks that "the close association of this verse and 1 Thess. 5.15, 1 Pet. 3.9, suggests that we have here the fixed formulation of the catechetical tradition."

Selwyn⁴ conveniently sets out comparative tables to show the similarities between Romans 12, 1 Thess. 5 and parts of 1 Peter, to illustrate his thesis that underlying the passages is primitive christian catechetical material. This injunction against returning evil for evil, 1 Pet. 3.9, he considered to rest "on the Verba Christi in the Lord's Prayer and the Sermon on the Mount."⁵ At some points we are not prepared to go the whole way with Selwyn, he is perhaps too ready to accept a verbum Christi behind many sayings, yet in

¹ ad loc.

² Hunter op.cit. p.47. He compares Matt. 5.39ff; 1 Thess. 5.15;

1 Peter 3.9.

³ ad loc.

⁴ The First Epistle of St. Peter, p.408.

⁵ op.cit., p.189.

this case we feel he is correct¹, though rather too specific.²

(iii) 12.17b: *προνοούμενοι καὶ ἐνώπιον πάντων ἀνθρώπων*

"The desire to earn the approbation of non-christians

reflects the mind of Jesus: Matt. 5.16 'Let your light so shine

before men that they may see your good works and give glory to

your Father who is in heaven', " is the comment of F. J. Leenhardt³.

No doubt Paul is "reflecting the mind of Jesus" but the evidence is insufficient to posit an allusion to any of his sayings.

Besides, in the formulation of this passage Paul may well be borrowing from the Old Testament⁴:

Proverbs 3.4: *προνοῶ καὶ ἐνώπιον Κυρίου καὶ ἀνθρώπων*

(iv) 12.18: *ἐν δυνατοῦ, τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν, μετὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων
ἐιρηνεύοντες*

With this verse we may compare:

Mark 9.50b: *ἐιρηνεύετε ἐν ἀλλήλοις*

Matthew 5.9: *μακάριοι οἱ ἐιρηνοποιοί*

Here again Paul's teaching is very close to his Masters, but we cannot posit an allusion.

¹ See also W. D. Davies, op.cit., p.138; J. S. Stewart, op.cit., p.289; P. Fannon, op.cit. p.304; V. P. Furnish, op.cit., p.53; cf. C. H. Dodd, 'The Primitive Catechism and the Sayings of Jesus', More New Testament Studies, pp.11-29.

² It has yet to be proved that Paul was acquainted with the Lord's Prayer. see pp. 201ff.

³ ad loc.

⁴ see C. H. Dodd, ibid., p.28; C. E. B. Cranfield, ad loc.

(v) 12.20: ἔὰν πεινᾷ ὁ ἐχθρὸς σου, φώμιζε αὐτόν. ἔὰν διψᾷ, πότιζε αὐτόν.

of Matt. 5.44: ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς.

Romans 12.20 is a quotation of Proverbs 25.21, and other Old Testament and Jewish passages may be cited with similar sentiments. Jesus, however, gave such Old Testament references much more explicit application by taking them up in his teaching and living them out in his life. We doubt, if any Christian in New Testament times could have referred to Proverbs 25.21 without being very conscious of his Lord's perfect living out of this verse and perhaps of his teaching to "love your enemies." Nevertheless we must classify this as an Old Testament quotation rather than as an allusion to a saying of Jesus.¹

(vi) 12.21: μὴ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ, ἀλλὰ νικᾷ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ τὸ κακόν.

This verse is regarded by A. M. Hunter² as "an epitome of Jesus' teaching about 'non-resistance'," and by C. H. Dodd³ as "an admirable summary of the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount" on non-resistance. V. P. Furnish is in accord with our view when he notes that⁴ "Paul's thought here is certainly in keeping with the nonresistance theme (e.g. Matt. 5.39ff.), but this hardly warrants listing the verse as an "allusion" to that teaching."

¹ pace J. S. Stewart, op.cit. p.289.

² op.cit., p.47.

³ ad loc. cf. W. D. Davies, op.cit., p.138.

⁴ op.cit. p.57. He cites the parallel in The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Ben. 4.3: τὸ ἁγίον ποιῶν νικᾷ τὸ κακόν.

Looking back over chapter 12 we see clear evidence of the influence of the Old Testament and Judaism:

- a. The quotations from the Old Testament: 12.16-21.
- b. The quotation from Deuteronomy 32.35 is from the Aramaic targum and not the LXX: 12.19.

And in the earlier part of the chapter we have

- c. The sacrificial language, and references to the mercies of God and the two ages: 12.1f.
- d. The Semitic use of $\delta\iota\ \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota$: 12.5.
- e. $\delta\ \epsilon\lambda\epsilon\omega\nu\ \epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\lambda\ \alpha\rho\acute{o}\tau\eta\pi$: 12.8. Note the similarity with Aboth 1.2 and Lev Rabba 34:9: "When a man gives alms, he should do it with a joyful heart."

In such a chapter Paul does not quote his Lord but echoes some of his teaching. In I Corinthians 9, when Paul quotes a saying of Jesus, he does it after arguing from the basis of parallels from the Old Testament and Jewish religious practice. So we may say that, at the least, we need not be surprised that Paul seems to have passages from the teaching of Jesus in mind in Romans 12.

Elsewhere, in a similar context, he has explicitly quoted a saying of Jesus.

The participles in Rom. 12.9-13 have no finite verb. C. K. Barrett¹ thinks that this is a reflection of rabbinic usage where participles express rules and codes; he refers to D. Daube's note 'Participle and Imperative in I Peter' at the end of Selwyn's commentary on that book.² The material in vv.9-13 then goes back to a Semitic

¹ ad loc.

² op.cit., pp. 467-488

source. The abrupt change of construction at verse 14 indicates, he thinks, that Paul draws from another source, which he considers to be the gospel tradition. This is an interesting observation but one that has yet to be substantiated.

Romans 13 -

We have just noted how Barrett held that a semitic source lay behind Rom. 12.9-13; O. Michel¹ argues with much more force and evidence that Rom. 13.1-7 is an independent excursus based on and incorporating a Jewish-Hellenistic original.

His argument may be summarized as follows:

- (i) There is a lack of connection with the immediate context.
- ((ii) It interrupts the continuity between 12.21 and 13.8.
- (iii) There are incongruities between this passage and the context.-
 - a. It is in the style of Jewish-Hellenistic wisdom teaching.
 - b. There is no eschatological reserve concerning the state, cf. 12.2.
 - c. It is altogether non-christological.
 - d. The idea of the use of force by the state is in sharp contrast to that of love, which is the theme of Rom. 12.9-21; 13.8-10.

Cranfield², upon whose summary the above is based, makes the following points in reply:

- (i) One need not expect a close logical connection between 13.1-7 and 12.9-21, the different items are only loosely linked and various connections of thought have been suggested.
- (ii) A verbal link does exist between 13.1-7 and what follows:
 ὀφειλᾶς - ὁφείλετε (13.7 and 8).

¹ O. Michel, Der Brief an die Römer pp.257, 280f.

Cranfield, ad loc., cites the 2nd edition, Göttingen, 1957.

² ad loc.

(iii) Since the state serves the good of men, to help in maintaining it could be regarded as helping one's neighbour.

(iv) The passage shows a christian understanding.

This issue need not detain us, though it is interesting that Cranfield virtually concedes the case: "While it is true that the words Paul uses here could have been used by a Rabbi or a philosopher, it by no means follows that, as used here, they have only the sense which they could have for a Rabbi or a philosopher." (Italics his.) He seems to be saying that if Paul is using a Jewish Hellenistic source he uses it in a christian manner. With this conclusion we are much happier, than with his arguments above. Whatever the original source of these verses Paul puts a distinctively christian stamp on them at the end, 13.7:

(vii) ἀπόδοτε πᾶσιν τὰς οφειλὰς, τῷ τὸν φόρον τὸν φόρον, τῷ τὸ τέλος τὸ τέλος, τῷ τὸν φόρον τὸν φόρον, τῷ τὴν τιμὴν τὴν τιμὴν
of. Matt. 22.21: ἀπόδοτε οὖν τὰ Καίσαρος Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ Θεῷ.

Mark 12.17: τὰ Καίσαρος ἀπόδοτε Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ Θεῷ.

Luke 20.25: τοῖνυν ἀπόδοτε τὰ Καίσαρος Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ Θεῷ.

It would appear that he was consciously alluding to the saying of the Lord quoted above for the following reasons:

(i) Both deal with the payment of taxes.

Mark, followed by Matthew, tells us that Jesus was questioned about the payment of ὁ κῆνσος. Luke tidies up Mark's account a little, and replaces the unusual Latin loanword with the common φόρος.

(ii) ἀπόδοτε is common to all, and both Luke and Paul have φόρος.

(iii) τὰς ὀφειλὰς and τὰ τοῦ... are similar in idea.

The following regard this as an allusion:-

C. H. Dodd¹; J. S. Stewart²; W. D. Davies³; A. M. Hunter⁴;
P. Fannon⁵; D. M. Stanley⁶; J. Jeremias⁷; and V. P. Furnish⁸
considers it a possibility.

As regards the form of the saying -

both Matthew and Luke place τὸ καὶσαρος after ἀποδοτε like Paul but unlike Mark, and Luke replaces κῆνσος of Matthew and Mark with φόρος . So we may say that, if anything, Paul's version is nearest to that of Luke, (although the differences in the synoptic accounts may be of little significance) since both, by replacing κῆνσος by φόρος , give the saying a more general application⁹. If Michel's view on the source of Romans 13 is correct then we have another example of the way PAUL, when using a Jewish source or appealing to the Old Testament concludes with a reference to a saying of Jesus. cf. 1 Cor. 9.14.¹⁰

¹ ad loc.; Gospel and Law, p.48.

² op.cit. p.289.

³ op.cit. p.138.

⁴ op.cit. p.47.

⁵ op.cit. p.304.

⁶ 'Pauline Allusions to the Sayings of Jesus', Catholic Biblical Quarterly 23, 1961, p.33.

⁷ Theology of the New Testament I, p.228.

⁸ op.cit. p.53.

⁹ C. H. Dodd, ad loc.; is tempted to see in Romans 13.2 a reminiscence of the saying recorded in Matt. 26.52 where Jesus tells a disciple to replace his sword, "for all who take the sword will perish by the sword." Most scholars, however, resist this temptation!

¹⁰ see above p. 101.

(viii) 13.8-10: "Owe to no-one anything, except to love one another; for he who loves his neighbour has fulfilled the law. The commandments, 'You shall not commit adultery, You shall not kill, You shall not steal, You shall not covet,' and any other commandment, are summed up in this sentence, 'You shall love your neighbour as yourself.' Love does no wrong to a neighbour, therefore love is the fulfilling of the law."

Paul here quotes two Old Testament passages - Deut. 5.17-19 and Lev. 19.18. These passages also figure in the teaching of Jesus, though it must be noted that in Rom. 13.8-10 Paul does not mention love to God, only love for the neighbour.

Lev. 19.18 is quoted in the following passages in the New Testament:

- (i) Matt. 5.43: "You have heard that it was said, 'You shall love your neighbour and hate your enemy.'"
- (ii) Mark 12.31 and the parallel, Matt. 22.39.
- (iii) Matt. 19.19; but it is absent from the parallels: Mark 10.19; Luke 18.20.
- (iv) Luke 10.27.
- (v) Mark 12.33.
- (vi) Galatians 5.14.
- (vii) James 2.8.

(i) In Matt. 5.43 Jesus is not really quoting the passage, but rather an interpretation of it - 'you shall love your neighbour and hate your enemy'. We may safely pass on to

- (ii) Mark 12.31; par. Matt. 22;39.

In reply to the scribe's question as to which is the first commandment Jesus (vv.29f) quotes the opening of the Shema (Deut. 6.4):

"Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one God; and you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and

with all your mind and with all your strength." He adds a second commandment -

Lev. 19.18: Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν.

Mark relates how the scribe commended the answer of Jesus and expressed his agreement with it.

In Matt. 22.34ff the questioner is a lawyer (νομικός) who is more hostile (περιέζων αὐτοῦ, v.35); his agreement with Jesus (Mark 12.32f) is omitted.

(iv) The Lucan version (Luke 10.27) seems to be independent of that found in Mark. As Cranfield¹ points out, the only significant common feature is the combination of Deut. 6.5 and Lev.19.18.

He finds the differences more significant:

- a. the context.
- b. the initial inquiry ("What must I do to inherit eternal life?" Luke 10.25 cf. Luke 18.18; and the parallels Mark 10.17: Matt. 19.16.
- c. in Luke, it is the lawyer, not Jesus, who brings the two Old Testament texts together.
- d. In Matthew and Mark the texts are given as the summary of the law, but in Luke they just provide a 'lead-in' to the parable that follows.

Cranfield would agree with T. W. Manson² that Luke 10.25ff refers to an entirely different incident. Others prefer to see the scribe's agreement in Mark to reflect the more original situation, found in Luke, where he links the two Old Testament texts together. At any rate in Mark and Luke both Jesus and the lawyer/scribe are in agreement on the matter. This is not surprising since similar summaries of the law are found in contemporary Jewish literature:

¹ The Gospel according to St. Mark, p.376.

² op.cit. pp.259f.

e.g. in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs:

"Keep therefore my children the law of God,
And get singleness, and walk in guilelessness.
Not playing the busybody with the business of your neighbour.
But love the Lord and your neighbour,
Have compassion on the poor and the weak."

(Issachar 5.1f.)

"Love the Lord through all your life,
And one another with a true heart."

(Test. Dan. 5.3)¹

or the famous saying of Rabbi Hillel (c.25 B.C.)

"What you yourself hate, do not do to your fellow; this is the whole law, the rest is commentary: go and learn."

On the basis of these and other parallels in contemporary literature some think that Paul is dependent not on a saying of Jesus in Rom. 13.4-10 but simply reflecting common Jewish ethical teaching.²

To establish further links between Paul and Jesus we turn to

(iii) Mark 10.17-22; Luke 18.18-23; Matt. 19.16-22,

passages relating the conversation between Jesus and the, so-called, "Rich Young Ruler."

He asks "What must I do to inherit eternal life?" and Jesus replies

¹ both quoted by Manson, *ibid.*

² see below.

by quoting the commandments: *μὴ φονεύσης, μὴ μοιχεύσης, μὴ κλέψῃς, μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσῃς, μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς, τίμη τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα,*

Mark 10.19¹

In Paul's list of the commandments in Rom. 13.9

οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις.

we note that:

a. he omits the fifth commandment,

b. he omits the ninth commandment, *οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις*, but he includes the tenth, *οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις*.

c. he uses *οὐ* + the Future Indicative, like Matthew and the LXX. Mark and Luke have *μὴ* + the Aorist Subjunctive, as does James 2.11.

So far, we may say that

in form, he is closest to Matthew, see c., but

in content, to Mark (assuming that *μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς* is the correct reading and refers to the tenth commandment, neither Matt. 19.18 nor Luke 18.20 have this phrase.)

The link with Matthew becomes clearer when we note that only Matthew records Jesus going on to add after the fifth commandment,

καὶ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν. This is the only other place in the New Testament where Lev. 19.18 is quoted with part of the Decalogue. There can be little doubt that this is an insertion and expansion of Matthew's.²

¹ For the two textual problems:

(i) some mss place *μὴ φονεύσης* after *μὴ μοιχεύσης*

(ii) some mss omit *μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς*

See the commentaries.

² The version of the incident in Mark is conspicuous for its vividness of detail, omitted by Matthew and Luke.

Was Matthew dependant on Paul at this point? Is it just a coincidence? Do they both go back to a common source?

Direct dependence on the part of Matthew is extremely unlikely.

It can hardly be a coincidence, especially when we note that in the preceding verse (13.7) Paul appears to be consciously echoing the saying of Jesus recorded in Matt. 22.21, which is a mere 18 verses from Matt. 22.39 where Lev. 19.18 is quoted¹. This can hardly be accidental.

Again, Paul sees Lev. 19.18 as the summary of the whole law:

13.9, ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται
cf Matt. 22.40: ἐν ταύταις ταῖς δυσὶν ἐντολαῖς ὅλος
ὁ νόμος κρέμνεται καὶ οἱ προφῆται.

Whereas the Marcan parallel reads:

Mark 12.31: μείζων τούτων ἄλλη ἐντολὴ οὐκ ἔστιν.

and Luke 10.27 omits the sentence altogether.

Bertram² regards the κρέμνεται and ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται as "exact parallels, which have the same fact in view."

So Paul and Matthew both show a development from the more original Marcan understanding of Lev. 19.18 according to which love of one's neighbour along with love of one's God are the two greatest commandments, but for Paul and Matthew, love of one's neighbour is the summary of the whole law - πλήρωμα οὖν νόμου ἡ ἀγάπη (Rom.13.10). In this perhaps they are closer to Hillel (quoted above) than to Jesus!!

¹ See above.

² 'κρεμννυμι κτλ', T.D.N.T. III, pp.920f.

cf. Gal. 5.14: ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ πεπλήρωται
ἐν τῷ· ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν, and Matt. 7.12,
the 'Golden Rule'.¹

We conclude, then, that Paul and Matthew both go back to a common source or stream of tradition concerning Jesus' attitude to the Law at this point.

V. P. Furnish has recently argued² that Romans 13.8ff "does not necessarily represent an instance of Paul's dependence on Jesus." He notes:

the double command of love of God and love of neighbour is reduced to the single command to love the neighbour. While the material difference between the two summaries is not significant he sees the formal difference as "a grave difficulty" to those who would see an allusion to a saying of Jesus here.

Secondly he refers to the rabbinic parallels to Lev. 19.18 citing from the Sifra Kedoshim; "'And thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' - R. Akiba (2nd Cent. A.D.) says: 'This is a comprehensive rule in the Torah.'"

It is certainly true that we cannot prove that this is an allusion but we consider it likely to be one:

a. The teaching of Jesus in the synoptic parallels is regarded by many (most?) scholars as fairly authentic, and we may quote

¹ T. W. Manson, Teaching of Jesus, pp.303f thinks that Mark's version shows that Jesus gave absolute priority to the two commandments whereas in Matthew it is only relative priority, but we are afraid we cannot see this.

² *op.cit.*, p.57.

Bultmann¹, Bornkamm² and Conzelmann³ to that effect!

b. The common tradition behind Matthew and Paul pushes their interpretation back nearer to the earthly ministry of Jesus.

c. The saying is found in the context of several other allusions,⁴ so that some tradition of Jesus' sayings was in Paul's mind at this point.

d. Scholars from many different 'schools' believe this to be an allusion.⁵

¹ Jesus and the Word, p.49.

² Jesus of Nazareth, pp.99f.

³ op.cit., p.223.

⁴ C. H. Dodd, Romans p.208 writes, "We have noted reminiscences of the sayings of Jesus in the whole section Rom. 12.9 - 13.10, and it is evident that Paul had not only yielded to the inspiration of Jesus, but had given careful study to the tradition of his teaching and based his own ethics on a profound understanding of it."

⁵ As well as the ones we would expect - J. S. Stewart, op.cit., p.290; W. D. Davies, op.cit., p.138; A. M. Hunter, op.cit., p.47; P. Fannon, op.cit., p.304; A. W. Argyle, 'M and the Pauline Epistles', Expository Times, LXXXI, II, August 1970, p.341; we may also cite - H. Conzelmann, ibid.; H. A. A. Kennedy, The Theology of the Epistles, p.144; H. N. Ridderbos, Paul and Jesus, pp.50f; A. Schweitzer, op.cit., p.173, W. Gutbrod, 'νόμος καὶ', T.D.N.T., IV, p.1071; R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament I, p.188, thinks it a possible allusion, and cf. H. J. Schoeps op.cit., p.56, n2.

Romans 14.

Paul proceeds from a general discussion of love of one's neighbour to give a specific example of how that guiding principle may be put into practice. The point at issue was probably the same as at Corinth (cf. 1 Cor.8) - how should one behave to a brother with whom one disagrees over the question of eating meat? He makes a plea for understanding and tolerance of the other point of view - 14.10 "Why do you pass judgment on your brother? Or you, why do you despise your brothers?"

J. S. Stewart¹ and A. M. Hunter² think that Paul's teaching in vv.3, 4, 10 and 13 goes back to the saying of Jesus recorded in Matt. 7.1: "Judge not, that you be not judged." W. D. Davies³ thinks this is true of v.10, at any rate. But V. P. Furnish⁴ points to significant rabbinic parallels - e.g. R. Hillel "Do not judge your neighbour until you have gotten into his condition." These verses could go back to Matt. 7.1, but, on the other hand, they might simply be the product of Paul's 'sanctified common sense'. This matter must be left open.

In 14.13ff, however, he gives evidence of a closer relationship with the teaching of his Master.

(vi x) 14.14: ὁ δὲ καὶ πείθει με ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ ὅτι οὐδὲν κοινὸν δι' ἑαυτοῦ
cf. Matt. 15.11: "Not what goes into the mouth defiles (κοινῶς)

¹ ibid.

² ibid.

³ ibid.

⁴ op.cit., p.57f. He refers to other parallels collected by Str.-Billerbeck I pp.441ff.

a man, but what comes out of the mouth, this defiles (κοινῶν)
a man."

Mark 7.15: "There is nothing outside a man which by going into him can defile (κοινῶσαι) him; but the things which come out of a man are what defile him (τὰ κοινῶντα)."

Some commentators e.g. F. F. Bruce¹; T. W. Manson²; F. Davidson and R. P. Martin³; F. J. Leenhardt⁴; G. H. Dodd⁵; think that Paul is following the teaching of Jesus recorded in these two passages.⁶

¹ ad loc.

² in Peake, ad loc.

³ in N.B.C.R., ad loc.

⁴ ad loc.

⁵ ad loc.; cf. Gospel and Law, p.49.

⁶ Others who take the same view are - J. S. Stewart, *ibid.*; A. M. Hunter, *ibid.*; W. D. Davies, *ibid.*; P. Fannon, *ibid.*; J. Jeremias, Theology of the New Testament, I, pp.149,210; N. Perrin, *op.cit.*, p.245; D. M. Stanley, *op.cit.*, p.27; of G. F. D. Moule, The Phenomenon of the New Testament, p.22 n2; A. Schweitzer, *op.cit.*, p.173.

G. H. Dodd, 'Ἐννομα Χριστοῦ', p.144 thinks that Paul's use of the double form κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ in the phrase πεπεισμαι ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ suggests that he is referring to the historical Jesus here; though he grants that it could simply mean, "I am convinced in virtue of my union with Christ as a member of his body."

This suggestion is interesting but not convincing.

Jeremias, Unknown Sayings of Jesus, p.14, is another who thinks it probable that the phrase "I know and am persuaded in the Lord Jesus" is meant to indicate the quotation of a dominical saying. And if so he thinks Mark 7.15 is the saying alluded to.

Can this be substantiated? We believe so:

a. There are good grounds for believing that this teaching goes back to Jesus. V. Taylor¹ notes that

1. The principle that uncleanness comes from within was uncommon in contemporary Judaism.

2. The form of the sayings is that of Semitic antithetic parallelism.

3. The parabolic mode of expression is one calculated to provoke thought and, we believe, characteristic of the teaching of Jesus.² He concludes that the saying in Mark 7.15 is "unquestionably genuine."

Now, we grant that secondary features can be found in these passages e.g. v.20 cf. Mark 7.19³ but this does not mean that it is completely secondary. Matt. 15.10-20 is dependent on Mark 7.14-23 and since Mark 7.18f is so obviously the explicit application of the more general saying, 7.15, (it is probable that originally this did not have anything to do with goods,) to the situation of the early church, the authenticity of the more general saying stands out more clearly.⁴

¹ op.cit., p.342. cf. Cranfield op.cit., p.240, "of its genuineness there can be no doubt."

² cf. J. Jeremias Theology of the New Testament I, 29ff.

³ In our view Mark 7.19 seems so tailor-made for the situation confronting Paul, that we probably have a case where the church is specifically applying the principle laid down by Jesus. Matt. 15.20 is a Matthaean addition to the Marcan version.

⁴ cf. E. Käsemann 'The New Testament Canon and the Unity of the Church' p.101, in Essays on New Testament Themes.

b. Since this teaching on the "interiorization" of sin was not common in contemporary Judaism (see a.1 above) that it is upon Jesus that Paul is dependent becomes more probable.

c. The number and diversity of the scholars who hold this to be an allusion adds weight to our argument. That J. S. Stewart, A. M. Hunter, and W. D. Davies consider it such is not really surprising; but what N. Perrin allows through his net¹ must be a very strong contender as an authentic saying of Jesus.

As regards the form of the saying, Paul's use of σκάνδαλον seems to place him nearer the version of Matthew than of Mark.

14.13: ἄλλὰ τοῦτο κρίνατε μᾶλλον, τὸ μὴ τιθεῖναι πρόσκομμα τῷ ἑταίρῳ ἢ σκάνδαλον.

Both σκανδαλίζω and σκάνδαλον are biblical rather than classical Greek words.²

The verb is found in the Synoptic Gospels as follows:

a. Mark 4.17; par. Matthew 13.21 - the interpretation of the Parable of the Sower. Luke 8.13 reads ἀφίστανται

Mark 6.3; par. Matthew 13.57, "and they took offence at him." Omitted by Luke.

Mark 9.42ff; par. Matthew 18.6ff and Luke 17.2 (in a shortened form).

Mark 14.27 & 29; par. Matthew 26.31,33. Luke 22.33 redrafts.

b in Q.

Luke 7.23; par. Matthew 11.6.

¹ op.cit. p.245.

² "σκανδαλίζειν", in this sense, is unknown to profane Greek," C. H. Dodd, 'Ἐννομας Χριστοῦ', p.145 n1; cf. Arndt and Gingrich S.V.; Liddell and Scott, S.V.; R. N. Flew, Jesus and his Church, p.67.

c in M.

Matthew 5.29f.

Matthew 15.12.

Matthew 17.27 .

Matthew 24.10.

The noun is absent from Mark but found in:

Matthew 13.41, the interpretation of the Parable of the Tares
(only found in Matthew.)

Matthew 16.23, a Matthaean insertion into Mark 8.33.

Matthew 18.7, an expansion and application of Mark 9.42.

Luke 17.1 the parallel passage to Matthew 18.7.

So, in the gospels the verb and noun occur in some passages which show clear signs of the interpretative application of the Early Church:- e.g. in Matthew's expansion of the Markan material:

Matthew 15.12; 16.23; 18.7.

They were particularly appropriate to the life of the Early Church; indeed D. E. Nineham may well be right in his comment¹ that "by Mark's time Christians were applying it (σκαυδιστον) almost as a technical term to those who, when confronted by Christ, found something in him which prevented them from going on to full Christian faith and discipleship."

Did Jesus use the expression? We think there are good grounds for an answer in the affirmative:

a. It is found in three different strata of the gospels.

b. The Q version looks authentic - Luke 7.23; par. Matt.11.6:

μάκαρος ἐστὶν ὃς ἐὰν μὴ σκαυδισθῇ ἐν ἐμοί .

The answer which Jesus gives to the disciples of John: Luke 7.22f, Matt. 11.4ff, shows clear signs of going back to a Semitic original.

¹ St. Mark, p.166.

T. W. Manson¹ notes that it is phrased in poetic form:

"the blind receive their sight, the lame walk,
lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear,
the dead are raised up, the poor have good news
preached to them.
and blessed is he who takes no offence at me."

R. H. Fuller² sees these verses as "the product of a mind which has soaked itself in the message of Isaiah as a whole, a circumstance which gives the saying a high claim to authenticity."

W. G. Kümmel³ gives further reasons for believing it authentic -

1. The designation of the Messiah as "he who comes" is not a customary designation in the Early Church, nor is it a contemporary Jewish one.⁴

2. The Baptist does not appear as a witness, but as an uncertain questioner. This contradicts the tendency of the Early Church to make him such a witness.

¹ The Sayings of Jesus, p.67. He refers to C. F. Burney, The Poetry of our Lord, p.117.

² The Mission and Achievement of Jesus, p.36.

³ Promise and Fulfilment, p.109ff.

⁴ "There is no authority for 'the Coming One' as a designation of the Messiah," *ibid.* Kümmel does not however think that it was completely absent from later Jewish usage. O. Cullmann conjectures in The Christology of the New Testament, p.36, that 'the coming one'

✱ $\overline{\square} \square$ was a technical term to designate the eschatological prophet. So presumably he envisages a more widespread use than Kümmel. cf. J. Schneider, art. 'ἐρχομεν: κτλ' T.D.N.T. II, p.670.

3. The answer of Jesus is unusually veiled.

He concludes¹ "the story in its essentials represents an old reliable tradition."

To Sum Up.

We have seen how the idea of a stumbling block and snare (σκάνδαλον, σκανδαλίζω) found in the teaching of Jesus, since it was particularly appropriate to the life of the Early Church, was taken up and developed by the early Christian writers, most notably Matthew and Paul; and how we have an example of this in Rom. 14.14 where Paul appears to allude to the saying of Jesus recorded in Mark 7.15 and Matt. 15.11.

This connection between Paul and Matthew becomes clearer when we note that Rom. 14.13f and Matt. 15.11f have in common, not only the idea of a stumbling block (σκάνδαλον, ἐσκανδαλίσθησαν) but also the application of this idea to unclean foods (κοινόν and κοινόη²) This could indicate a common source. It is more likely, however, to be an indication of the awareness of both writers that the matter of clean and unclean meats was causing many of their contemporaries 'to stumble'.

(κ) 14.17: οὐ γάρ ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ βρώσις καὶ πόσις, ἀλλὰ δικαιοσύνη καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ χαρὴ ἐν πνεύματι ᾧ.

¹ op.cit., p.111.

² cf. F. Hauck, art. 'κοινός κτλ', T.D.N.T. III, pp.797, 809.

Compare:

Matt. 6.31: "Therefore do not be anxious saying 'What shall we eat?' or 'What shall we drink?' or 'What shall we wear?'"

Matt. 5.6: "Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness."

Matt. 5.9: "Blessed are the peacemakers."

Matt. 5.10: "Blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven."

Matt. 5.12: "Rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven."

The phrase "kingdom of God" is not frequent in Paul's writings.¹

On the other hand, teaching on the Kingdom of God formed the core of the preaching of Jesus. "Of this there can be no doubt and today no scholar does in fact doubt it."²

It can hardly be said that Paul is here quoting any of these verses, and yet the similarity in thought and expression, if the two passages were completely unrelated, would be remarkable. So we think that here there is further evidence of Paul being dependent on, but not quoting, the teaching of Jesus.³

¹ It is found at Rom. 14.17; 1 Cor. 4.20; 6.9f; 15.50; Gal. 5.21; Col. 4.11; 2 Thess. 1.5; cf. 1 Cor. 15.24; Eph. 5.5; Col. 1.13; 1 Thess. 2.12.

² N. Perrin *op.cit.*, p.54.

³ So A. M. Hunter, *op.cit.*, p.48; Sanday and Headlam, *op.cit.*, p.381. Both quote Knowling, The Witness of the Epistles, p.312, "the Apostle's description of the Kingdom of God (Rom. 14.17) reads like a brief summary of its description in the same ~~Sermon~~ on the Mount; the righteousness, peace and joy which formed the contents of the kingdom in the Apostle's conception are found side by side in the Saviour's Beatitudes."

cf. A. W. Argyle, *op.cit.* p.341; F. F. Bruce, *ad loc.*

1 THESSALONIANS

A. M. Hunter,¹ W. D. Davies,² and P. Fannon³ all give lists of possible allusions to the sayings of Jesus in 1 Thessalonians 4 and 5. The passages mentioned by them are -

(1) 1 Thess. 4.8. τοιγαρουν ο ἡθετων ουκ ανθρωπον
ἡθετει ἀλλὰ τὸν Θεόν.

cf. Luke 10.16: ο ἀκούων ὑμῶν ἐμοῦ ἀκούει, καὶ ὁ
ἡθετων ὑμῶν ἐμοῦ ἡθετει. ὁ δὲ ἐμὲ ἡθετων
ἡθετει τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με.

Matt. 10.40: ὁ δεχόμενος ὑμῶν ἐμὲ δέχεται καὶ ὁ
ἐμὲ δεχόμενος δέχεται τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με

John 13.20: ἀμὴν, ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῶν, ὁ λαμβάνων ἐν
τινὰ πέμψω ἐμὲ λαμβάνει, ὁ δὲ ἐμὲ
λαμβάνων λαμβάνει τὸν πέμψοντά με

Apart from the three above, other scholars who find an allusion here are: A. W. Argyle⁴ and D. M. Stanley.⁵

The reasons given for linking this verse with Luke 10.16⁶ are the

¹ Paul and his Predecessors, p.49

² Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p.139

³ 'The Influence of Tradition: St. Paul', p.305. Fannon's list is the same as Hunter's except that he adds 1 Thess. 5.21 to it.

⁴ 'Parallels between the Pauline Epistles and Q', Expository Times, 60, pp. 318-320.

⁵ op.cit. p.30

⁶ Of the three passages from the Gospels quoted above Luke 10.16 is clearly the closest to 1 Thess. 4.8 for

(i) they agree in expressing the saying negatively ('rejects') whereas the others express it positively ('receives')

(ii) ἡθετων is found in both.

use of ῥητέω in both and their similarity in thought, but these have been called into question by V. P. Furnish.¹

He overstates his case when he says that the two passages are quite different in context and meaning. Paul has been giving his readers instructions, παραγγελλίς v.2, and since these have not been of his own making but come from God, διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ vv.2f, to reject them is not to reject a man, but God. Now surely this is how Jesus saw the rejection of his own teaching in the preaching of the disciples - Luke 10.16, Matt. 10.40². As regards his use of ῥητέω this is the only place in Paul's writings where it has the sense of rejecting a person. Elsewhere he uses it of nullifying a will (Gal. 3.15), or confounding the wisdom of the wise (1 Cor. 1.19). In classical Greek it does not seem to be used in this sense,³ viz. - of rejecting a person.

This personal use of the verb, then, in this verse and Luke 10.16 could be regarded as a strong link between them. Furnish thinks otherwise. He refers⁴ to the suggestion of Dibelius that ὁ ῥητέων is a familiar parenthetic expression employed in concluding warnings.

¹ op.cit. p.58

² cf. Mark 9.37; John 15.20. It looks as if Luke 10.16 and Matt 10.40, and perhaps Mark 9.37 are all variants of the same saying whose poetic form ('climactic parallelism' - Burney) points to an original in Aramaic. cf. Manson, Sayings of Jesus, pp.77f. W. Neil, ad loc. and L. Morris ad loc. think that the thought of 1 Thess. 4.8 and Luke 10.16 is the same or similar.

³ See Liddell and Scott

⁴ op.cit. p.58 n92

Luke 10.16 could then be a recasting of Matt. 10.40 and Paul, in 1 Thess. 4 is simply reflecting a parenthetic style and not alluding to a saying of Jesus.¹

The arguments for and against will be assessed differently by the scholars. The matter may be decided by their view of how far, if at all, the teaching of Jesus underlies this passage.

(ii) 4.9b: αὐτοὶ γὰρ ὑμεῖς Θεοδίδυκτοί, ἐστε εἰς τὸ ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους.

Hunter² thinks this sentence "catches the essential spirit of Jesus' teaching." Davies³ includes it in his list of allusions but does not comment nor give a parallel from the gospels. "This hardly qualified as evidence" is the apt observation of Furnish.⁴ Fannon⁵ compares it with John 15.34:

"A new commandment I give you that you love one another"

(εἶνε ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους).

That Jesus taught his disciples to love one another, and gave them the supreme example of such love is generally agreed in scholarly circles.⁶ Again, there can be no doubt that Paul's statement here and the teaching of Jesus recorded in John 15.34 are in complete accord, but this does not necessarily prove that Paul is quoting Jesus. This could be done, if it were shown that Θεοδίδυκτος

¹ A. R. C. Leaney, on Luke 10.16, regards Matt. 10.40 as another version of Luke 10.16 but he describes the latter as "this no doubt well remembered saying of the Lord."

² op.cit. p.49

³ op.cit. p.159

⁴ op.cit. p.58

⁵ op.cit. p.305

⁶ See for example, R. Bultmann, Jesus and the Word, pp.82ff; G. Bornkamm, Jesus of Nazareth, pp.109ff.

meant "taught by Jesus" through his earthly sayings.

The commentators, however, consider that this hapax legomenon is more likely to refer to the indwelling Holy Spirit mentioned in the previous verse. The comment of Neil¹ is typical: "This is not a reference to any instruction the Thessalonians might have had on this subject (cf. 4.2), or to any passage of Scripture, or to any words of Jesus, but to the presence of the Holy Spirit within them." And we may compare 1 Cor. 2.13 in this context. So this passage should be omitted from any list of possible allusions.

(iii) 5.2: αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐκρυβῶς οἶδατε ὅτι ἡμέρα κυρίου ὡς κλέπτης ἐν νυκτὶ οὕτως ἔρχεται.

cf. Luke 12.59: τοῦτο δὲ γινώσκετε, ὅτι εἰ ἦδει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης πόσα ὥρα ὁ κλέπτης ἔρχεται, οὐκ εὖ ἐφῆκεν διορυχθῆναι τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ.

Matt. 24.43: ἐκεῖνο δὲ γινώσκετε, ὅτι εἰ ἦδει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης πόση φυλακὴ ὁ κλέπτης ἔρχεται, ἐρηγόρησεν εὖ καὶ οὐκ εὖ εἶπεν διορυχθῆναι τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ.

The expression 'the Day of the Lord' first appears in the prophecy of Amos, though it was probably already an established idea.² It was the traditional Jewish expression for the day when God would intervene in history to vindicate his people and destroy their enemies; though Amos also sees it as ushering in the vindication of God's justice and judgement coming on the sins of his people.³

¹ ad loc. cf. J. B. Lightfoot, Notes on Epistles of St. Paul, p.59

² See G. von Rad, 'ἡμέρα' T.D.N.T. II p.944

³ cf. Amos 5.18; Isa. 2.12; Ezek. 13.5; Joel 1.15; 2.11; 3.14; Zeph. 1.14; Mal. 4.5

Later there was much apocalyptic speculation about the day.¹

In the New Testament Paul identifies the Day of the Lord with the Parousia, and the 'Day of the Lord (Jesus)' and the 'Day of Christ' become interchangeable terms.²

The picture of the thief is not unknown in the Old Testament either: Jer. 49.9b: "If thieves came by night would they not destroy only enough for themselves?"

Job 24.14: "The murderer . . . in the night he is as a thief."

Joel 2.9: "They leap upon the city . . . they enter through the windows like a thief."

What is not found in the Old Testament is the comparison of the Day of the Lord to a thief in the night. Since the symbol of a thief is "foreign to the eschatological imagery of late Jewish literature"³ we may assume that this comparison goes back to the teaching of Jesus, and possibly to the saying recorded in Luke 12.39 and Matt. 24.43. This view has wide support.⁴ Adeney comments:⁵ "It is likely that Paul had repeated the tradition of Christ's words to the Thessalonians, so that this gave him reason for saying, 'yourselves know perfectly.'" This appears very possible. Whiteley,⁶ on the other hand, raises the question whether this

¹ cf. 2 Esdras 4.51-5.13; 7.39-42

² cf. 1 Cor. 5.5; 2 Cor. 1.14 with Phil. 1.10; 2.16

³ Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, p.50

⁴ cf. H. Preisker, art. 'κλέπτω κτλ', T.D.N.T. III, 755; Frame, ad loc.; J. B. Lightfoot op.cit., p.71; W. Neil, ad loc.;

L. Gaston, No Stone on Another, p.325

⁵ ad loc.; see also F. F. Bruce, N.B.C.R.; ad loc.

⁶ ad loc.

simile was applied to the Parousia by Christ or by the Evangelists, though he makes no attempt to give an answer. Clearly the two pictures had become joined by the time of Paul's ministry among the Thessalonians and this very early date weighs against the combination being the work of the gospel writers.¹

Since Jeremias considers the only possible explanation of the anarthrous ἡμέρα κυρίου is that it is a semiticism, Paul could be quoting direct from the Aramaic.

The interpretation of Jeremias is that the Parable of the Thief in the Night was told by Jesus to be a cry to the people to prepare for the oncoming eschatological catastrophe. This, he thinks, the early church reapplied to its members (Luke 12.22: πρὸς τοὺς μαθητάς cf. Matt 24.5). So the parable becomes "a summons to the leaders of the church, in view of the delayed perousia, not to sleep, and the burglar, by means of christological allegorizing, becomes a figure of the Son of Man."²

While the Gospels apply the figure of the thief to the Son of Man cf. Rev. 3.5; 16.15; Paul and 2 Pet. 3.10 apply the figure to the Day of the Lord. It seems likely that Jesus foresaw the coming eschatological catastrophe³ as the coming of the Day of the Lord. The parable is found in two versions in The Gospel of Thomas; neither compares the thief to the Son of Man.⁴

¹ The same two pictures are joined in 2 Pet. 3.10, which may be dependant on this passage.

² *ibid.* cf. Dodd, Parables of the Kingdom pp. 124 ff.

³ We have already noted the secondary application of the parable in Luke 12 and Matt. 24.

⁴ Thomas 21b: "but you must keep watch against the world." and Thomas 105.

It is true that the saying in Luke 12.39; par. Matt. 24.42 falls into the category of the Son of Man sayings that most scholars see as authentic to Jesus, namely those about the future coming of an apocalyptic figure, but, our impression is that this view is losing some of its popularity today.¹

So we conclude that in 1 Thess. 5.2 we have an allusion to a saying of Jesus.²

(iv) 5.5 : ὅταν λέγωσιν εἰρήνη καὶ ἀσφάλεια, τότε ῥιφνίδιος αὐτοῖς ἐφίσταται ὀλεσθῶς ὥσπερ ἡ ὥδιον τῇ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσῃ, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐκφύγῃ.

Lightfoot comments:³ "The dissimilarity which this verse presents to the ordinary style of St. Paul is striking. We seem suddenly to have stumbled on a passage out of the Hebrew prophets."

Frame⁴ lists the following unusual features:

- a. εἰρήνη = 'security'
- b. ἀσφάλεια
- c. ῥιφνίδιος
- d. ἐφίσταται
- e. ὥδιον
- f. the impersonal use of λέγωσιν.

¹ See, for example, E. Schweizer, 'The Son of Man again', New Testament Studies, 9.256ff., cited by T. F. Glasson, 'The Second Advent' - 25 Years Later, ' Expository Times, 82, p.308.

² Others, not already mentioned who take this view include J. S. Stewart, op.cit. p.289; A.M. Hunter, op.cit. pp.49 and 126f; W. D. Davies, ibid.; P. Farnon, ibid., A. W. Argyle, 'M and the Pauline Epistles', Expository times 81, p.341; D. M. Stanley, op.cit. p.32; V. P. Furnish op.cit. pp.53f.

³ op.cit p.72

⁴ ad loc.

a. εἰρήνη

This appears to be the only place where the word is used in the sense of "security" in Paul, though cf. Luke 11.21.¹

b. ἀσφάλεια

This noun occurs in only two other passages in the New Testament, both in the writings of Luke - Luke 1.4; Acts 5.23. The sense of "safety" here differs from that of "firmness" or "certainty" of the Lucan passages.

c. ἀφνίδιος

This word is rare in Biblical Greek; Luke 21.34 is the only place where it is found in the New Testament.

"Take heed to yourselves lest . . . that day come upon (ἐπιστῇ) you suddenly like a snare, for it will come upon all who dwell upon the face of the whole earth."

As well as the occurrence of ἀφνίδιος there are other similarities between these two passages:

1. ἐπιστῇ and ἐφίσταται

2. "that day" and "the Day of the Lord" of the previous verse.

3. ὡς παγίς, "like a snare" is used in the Psalms with the suddenness of the destruction being emphasised.² So that the meaning is very little different from that of ὡς κλέπτῃς in 1 Thess. 5.2.

L. Morris³ comments on ἀφνίδιος, "this is not the only place wherein Paul agrees with Luke in statements where that evangelist differs from the others. It indicates a connection such as we should expect between Paul and his friend." Doubtless, he too readily

¹ cf. W. Foerster, art 'εἰρήνη', T.D.N.T. II, p.411.

² cf. Ps. 17(18)5; 34(35)7; 63(64)5.

³ ad loc.

assumes that Paul's travelling companion wrote the Gospel and Acts.

d. ἐφίσταται

Another uncommon New Testament word, found in Pauline literature only here and in 2 Tim. 4.2,6, but frequent in the Lucan writings, found seven times in the Gospel and eleven times in Acts.

e. ὥσιν

This is found elsewhere at Mark 13.8, par. Matt. 24.8; Acts 2.24.

Paul is emphasising the suddenness rather than the pain of the occasion, so he is not dependent on these other passages, and his usage may go back to Isa. 13.8. L. Gaston,¹ however, thinks it is a remnant of a "fuller parable" of Jesus.

f. The impersonal use of χέγωνιν.

This is not a common usage.

These six unusual features suggest four alternatives to Frame.

Either Paul

- a. is citing from a Jewish apocalypse or
- b. from an agraphon or
- c. is writing under the influence of a Jewish apocalypse or of
- d. a saying of the Lord as in v.2.

In the light of v.2 he thinks a. is unlikely, and the close similarities with Luke 21.34 suggest d. that he is alluding to a saying of the Lord.² J. A. T. Robinson³ is rather more cautious and while he imagines a common tradition behind Luke 21.34 and 1 Thess. 5.3, he does not state that this tradition is dependent on the teaching of Jesus.

¹ op.cit. p.59.

² He is following Lightfoot who thinks it likely that "the sentence is a direct quotation of our Lord's words." (op.cit. p.72).

³ op.cit., p.123 n3.

Frame is too ready to dismiss a. All we can say is that behind Luke 21.54 and 1 Thess. 5.5 there lies common teaching from the Old Testament.¹ The question whether this teaching came to them via the ministry of Jesus must be left open.

(v) 5.5: πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς υἱοὶ φωτός ἐστε καὶ θεοὶ ἡμέρας.
cf. Luke 16.8: οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου φρονιμώτεροι
ὑπὲρ τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ φωτός.

John 12.36: ἵνα υἱοὶ φωτός γένηθε.

Eph. 5.8: ὡς τέκνα φωτός περιπατεῖτε.

T. W. Manson² in 1937 could find no exact Rabbinic parallels to the expressions "sons of light" and "sons of the day", but the situation has been completely changed by the discovery of the literature of the Community at Qumran. So Jeremias³ can say in 1965, "The expression 'children of light' has now been abundantly confirmed by the Qumran texts, and its Palestinian character established." cf. 1 Qs 1.9-11; 5.13-4.26.

These parallels in the Dead Sea Scrolls establish the semitic background and Palestinian origin of these expressions, but of course they do not establish Pauline dependence on Jesus at this point, though there is no a priori reason why Jesus should not have used such expressions. E. G. Selwyn⁴ notes how the 'Filii Lucis' is an element in the primitive christian

¹ So, V. P. Furnish, op.cit. p.59; D. E. H. Whiteley ad loc.; J. W. Bailey, '1 and 2 Thessalonians', the Interpreters Bible, ad loc.; though these do not necessarily accept the link with Luke 21.54.

² The Sayings of Jesus, p.292. The additional notes were added in 1948.

³ The Parables of Jesus p.46 n84.

⁴ The First Epistle of St. Peter, pp.375-382.

catechetical tradition. "It is obvious," he writes,¹ "that verba Christi underlie, and are being interpreted in the teaching and phraseology of these parallels especially in the case of 1 Thess. 5."

He lists the parallels between 1 Thess. 5 and the gospels as follows:

<u>1 Thess. 5.1-9</u>	<u>Verba Christi</u>
v.2.	Mark 13.32; Luke 12.59; Matt. 24.43
v.3.	Luke 21.34; Mark 13.8; Matt. 24.19; cf. Jn. 16.21f.
v.4.	Matt. 5.14; 5.16
v.5.	Luke 16.8; 11.35f; John 8.12; 12.56
v.6.	Luke 21.36
v.7.	Mark 13.33; 13.35-37; Matt. 25.13
v.8.	Luke 21.34; Matt. 24.48-50; cf. Luke 12.45

There can be little doubt that 1 Thess. 5 reflects the catechetical teaching of the early Church² and that such teaching is found in other parts of the New Testament e.g. in 1 Peter, in Rom. 13.11-14 (where the time before the Parousia is described as *ὕπνος, σκοτός* and *νόξ*). The question which interests us is concerned with the relationship between this catechetical tradition and the sayings of Jesus.

In the table above Selwyn too easily assumes that the logia Jesu influenced the catechetical tradition, and he is in danger of destroying his case by overstating it. He seems to pick out

¹ op.cit. p.379.

² cf. 4.1. See Selwyn, op.cit., pp.363-466. The book that opened up this whole topic was The Primitive Christian Catechism by P. Carrington. The main points of Selwyn and Carrington are summarized by G. B. Caird, The Apostolic Age, pp.110f.

common words and phrases, and on the basis of these build up his case. He does not ask whether the sayings in the gospels may be confidently assigned to Jesus or may be creations of the gospel writers; and even if they do go back to Jesus he would still have to show direct dependence, for it is possible that Paul is not dependent on Jesus but simply shares with him common Jewish teaching. Nevertheless Selwyn's case may not be completely discarded and we are confident we have found at least one allusion to the teaching of Jesus in these verses.¹

The relationship between the catechetical tradition and the teaching of Jesus is complex and obscure,² and it goes beyond the scope of this present study. But by way of general comment, we feel it more likely that in a situation of impending persecution sayings of Jesus which dealt with wakefulness and watchfulness would be highlighted and perhaps, at the same time, taken out of context and reapplied to the contemporary situation, rather than that such injunctions were created by the early Church and then read back into the gospel accounts of Jesus' teaching.³

Returning to 1 Thess. 5.5 - Luke 16.8b is probably an additional interpretation of the early Church on to the parable of Jesus⁴ so that Paul can hardly be alluding to the saying recorded there. Nor is the evidence sufficient to assert that he is alluding to

¹ see above, on 1 Thess 5.2.

² C. H. Dodd, 'The Primitive Catechism and the Sayings of Jesus', More New Testament Studies, p. 11 believes that the first Christians remembered sayings of Jesus which served as a basis for the developing tradition which ultimately entered into the gospels. This seems to him a "reasonable assumption" though one which can be neither proved nor disproved.

³ cf. Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, pp.51f.

⁴ cf. Jeremias, *op.cit.*, pp.108, 45ff.

some other saying. The Qumran literature may have shown that Jesus could or perhaps did use such expressions as "the children of light" in his preaching, but on the other, it has equally well established another source from which Paul could have borrowed these expressions quite independently of Jesus.

(vi) 5.6: ἄρα οὖν μὴ καθέσωμεν ὡς οἱ λοιποὶ,
ἀλλὰ χρησόμεθα καὶ νήφωμεν.

A. M. Hunter¹ thinks that this verse is "not unlike Matt. 24.42",

which runs: χρησόμενοι οὖν, ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε ποία
ἡμέρα ὁ κύριος ὑμῶν ἔρχεται.

This observation is sound enough, but general similarity is insufficient ground upon which to base an allusion. V. P. Furnish² points to "admonitions to watchfulness and sobriety . . . frequent in Oriental-Hellenistic Gnosis and other literature of the day." It is our view, however, that Paul drew on a source much nearer home.

When we examine the three verbs in 1 Thess. 5.6 we find that they are not often used by him:

καθεύδω - is found only in this section (1 Thess. 5.6-10) of Paul's letters³.

χρησόμεν - is infrequently found in Paul. The only other

¹ op.cit. p.49. Others who think this is an allusion are:

J. S. Stewart, op.cit. p.290; W. D. Davies, op.cit. p.159,

P. Fannon op.cit. p.305.

² op.cit. p.59.

³ cf. Eph. 5.14. Even if we regard Paul as the author of Ephesians, this usage is not necessarily his own, since he is clearly quoting from the fragment of a hymn.

occurrences apart from this passage and 5.10 being 1 Cor. 16.13;

Col. 4.2.¹

ὑπόω - occurs at 5.8 and in four other places in the New Testament, 2 Tim. 4.5; 1 Peter 1.13; 4.7; 5.8.

So it looks as if these terms are not Paul's own but 'borrowed'.

On the other hand, exhortations to watch or be wakeful are frequently found on the lips of Jesus.² From this, however, it does not necessarily follow that Paul is borrowing from Jesus; these same terms are also found elsewhere in the New Testament,³ and in passages where we have good reason to believe we find evidence of the catechetical teaching of the early church, e.g. 1 Peter 5.8. E. G. Selwyn⁴ takes Carrington's view that the primitive catechetical material contained a 'Vigilate' section, and in general he seems to be on the right lines.

Other commentators⁵ think that 1 Peter 5.8 provides a reference to the words spoken to Peter by his Lord and recorded in the

¹ We refer to our discussion of Col. 4.2 on p. 146ff.

² See Matt. 24.42; 25.13; Mark 13.35; 14.38; Luke 12.37.

³ "Watchfulness and sobriety . . . were plainly a recurrent motif of primitive teaching." J.N.D. Kelly, The Epistles of Peter and of Jude, p.209

⁴ op.cit. pp.388f, 439-458.

⁵ For example, D. H. Wheaton, N.B.C.R. ad loc.; J. Moffatt, The General Epistles, ad loc. A. M. Hunter, Interpreters' Bible, ad loc. probably shares their view though he does not say so in so many words.

gospels in Matt. 26.41; Mark 14.38. Cranfield¹ comments, "For Peter the command to watch must have had poignant associations - see Mark 15.37; 14.54, 58." This raises again the question of the relationship between the sayings of Jesus and the primitive catechetical tradition. To our remarks on page 130 we would add that there seem to be good grounds, assuming Petrine authorship of 1 Peter, for seeing the exhortation to Peter in Gethsemane, Mark 14.37f, as the basis of the saying in 1 Peter 5.8. Taylor comments,² "The obvious parenetic motif in no way compromises the tradition; on the contrary, it was only because the facts were known that this example could be cited." If this is so then we have a link between one saying of Jesus and one section of the catechetical tradition. Yet it still has to be shown that Paul knew that this saying went back to Jesus, he may just have been repeating a common strand of early Christian parenesis.

So whether Paul is explicitly alluding to a saying of Jesus in 1 Thess. 5.6 must be left an open question.

(vii) 5.8: ἐνδυσάμενοι θώρακα πίστεως καὶ ἁγίας καὶ περικεφαλαίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας.

This verse "contains the primitive Christian triad possibly based

¹ In his commentary on '1 Peter' in Peake's commentary on the Bible rev. ed. ad loc. See also his commentary on 1 Peter in the Torch Series. This view is largely dependent on the acceptance of the Petrine authorship of the epistle.

² op.cit. ad loc.; cf. A. E. J. Rawlinson, The Gospel according to St. Mark, p.211. For the contrary view see R. Bultmann, History of the Synoptic Tradition p.285.

on an agraphon of Jesus"¹ comments A. M. Hunter, but other bases have also been suggested for it.

R. Reitzenstein suggested that it was derived from a fourfold gnostic formula - knowledge, love, hope and faith. R. Bultmann² and more recently, G. Bornkamm³ have taken a similar position. H. Conzelmann⁴ and A. Schweitzer⁵, on the other hand, have rejected Reitzenstein's view; Schweitzer seems to say that Paul "thought of this trinity for himself," Conzelmann suggests that it may have developed from the two conjunctions πίστις/ἐλπίς and πίστις/ἀγάπη. E. Stauffer⁶ notes that the triad seems to be a formula but does not comment on its origin. But the only person I find who comes near to Hunter's view on the matter is R. St. J. Parry⁷ quoting J. Weiss. While we consider a gnostic origin of the triad very unlikely,⁸

¹ Hunter, *ibid.*; he is followed by P. Fannon, *ibid.*, though, perhaps significantly, not by W. D. Davies, *op.cit.* For other occurrences of the triad see 1 Thess. 1.3, 1 Cor. 13.13, Gal. 5.5f, Col. 1.4f.

² art. 'ἐλπίς', *T.D.N.T.* II p.532.

³ 'The More Excellent Way', *Early Christian Experience*, pp.186f; and cf. the literature cited on page 192 n41.

⁴ *An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament*, p.185.

⁵ *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*, p.305

⁶ art. 'ἀγάπη', *T.D.N.T.*, I, p.51.

⁷ *1 Corinthians*, p.147.

⁸ cf. C. K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, pp.310f.

there appears to be little evidence that would link it with a saying of Jesus.¹

(viii) 5.13: εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς

cf. Mark 9.50: εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἑλλήλοις

Rom. 12.18: μετὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰρηνεύοντες

This is one of Furnish's "eight convincing parallels to the Synoptic Gospels"² whose wording is "impressively close" to that of Mark 9.50. And to the usual trio of Hunter,³ Davies⁴ and Fannon⁵ who agree, and find an echo of the Lord's words here we may also add the name of W. Neil.⁶ No doubt these men are influenced by the fact that the only occurrence of εἰρηνεύω in the gospels is in this passage, but we must look at the wider context of Mark 9.50.

We find that Mark 9.42-50 is a very interesting passage indeed.

A number of originally independent sayings appear to have been grouped with the help of catchwords. This is clearly shown by Taylor⁷

¹ Hunter, op.cit. p.35 makes the most of this scanty evidence, though he does present a good case for the triad being pre-Pauline, pp.35f.

² op. cit., p. 54. The others are Rom. 12.14, 17; 13.7; 14.13, 14;

1 Thess. 5.2, 15.

³ op.cit., p.49.

⁴ op.cit., p. 139.

⁵ op.cit., p.305.

⁶ ad loc.

⁷ op. cit. pp.408ff. He comments, "Distaste for such artificial methods of compilation is more than compensated for by the knowledge we gain of catechetical practices in the pre-Gospel period."

The compiler seems to have built upon poetic forms used by Jesus¹ to draw up this list of sayings for use with catechumens. In v.50, two² or perhaps three³ independent sayings have been joined. It is likely that 50b has been added to "round off the whole section by bringing it back at the end to the subject with which it started (vv.33f)."⁴ So the case is strong for εἰρηνέετε ἐν ἀλλήλοις being an editorial conclusion to this collection of sayings, in which case Paul can hardly be alluding to a saying of Jesus. Unless, of course, the saying is authentic, but taken from its original context,⁵ if it was preserved in one, and inserted here by the compiler. This is possible but can neither be proved nor disproved.

1 Thess. 5.13, then, provides us with yet another link between Paul and the catechetical tradition of the early Church, and perhaps, also between him and the sayings of Jesus.

¹ cf. Jeremias, New Testament Theology, I, pp.20ff; for the Aramaic basis of this passage see M. Black, *op.cit.* pp.170f.

² D. E. Nineham *ad loc.*

³ C. E. B. Cranfield *ad loc.*

⁴ D. E. Nineham, *ibid.*; see also our discussion of Col. 4.6a pp.153ff.

⁵ This seems to be the view of Cranfield, *ibid.*

- (ix) 5.15: ὁρᾶτε μὴ τις κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ τινὶ ἀποδῶ.
 cf. Matt. 5.44: ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ
 προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς.
 Luke 6.28: εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους, προσεύχεσθε
 περὶ τῶν ἐπηρεάζόντων ὑμᾶς.
 Rom. 12.14: εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς διώκοντας, εὐλογεῖτε
 καὶ μὴ καταρτίζετε.
 Rom. 12.17a: μὴ δὲνὶ κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἀποδιδόντες.
 1 Peter 3.9: μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ.

This passage is so close to Rom. 12.17a that separate discussion is hardly necessary and we refer to our comment on this latter passage. Cranfield's comment¹ that "the close association of this verse (Rom. 12.17a) and 1 Thess. 5.15, 1 Pet. 3.9, suggests that we have here the fixed formulation of the catechetical tradition" is most apt. Has a saying of Jesus, then, been incorporated into the catechetical tradition? Hunter,² Davies, Fannon, Furnish, Moffatt, Selwyn, Bruce, Lightfoot,³ would answer in the affirmative, or at least see this saying as an echo of a saying of Jesus. J. N. D. Kelly thinks that the common tradition behind both Paul and Peter⁴ evident at this point "drew its inspirations from Christ himself." We consider that this judgement of these scholars is valid.

¹ A Commentary on Romans 12 - 15, p. 54. This is also quoted on p. 98.

² In Paul and his Predecessors, pp.47 and 49, he compares it with Matt. 5.39ff, but in his exegesis of '1 Peter' in the Interpreter's Bible vol. 12, p. 125 he thinks it is an echo of the saying recorded in Luke 6.27f.

³ Davies, op.cit. p.139; Fannon op.cit. p.305; Furnish, op.cit. p.54; Moffatt, The General Epistles, p.136; Selwyn, op.cit. p.189; Bruce, ad loc.; Lightfoot, op.cit. p.80.

⁴ op.cit., p.137.

(x) 5.16: πάντοτε χαίρετε.

Davies¹ compares with this verse

Luke 6.23: χαίrete ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ σκιρτήσατε.

and Luke 10.20: χαίρετε δὲ ὅτι τὰ ὀνόματα ὑμῶν
ἐδεδέχραται ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

But he gives no reasons, and we do not consider 5.16 an allusion.

(xi) 5.21f: πάντα δὲ δοκιμίζετε, τὸ καλὸν κατέχετε.
ἀπὸ παντὸς εἰδους πονηροῦ ἀπέχεσθε.

Hunter, in the appendix to his Paul and His Predecessors entitled
'After Twenty Years', is convinced that 1 Thess. 5.21f quotes
an agraphon of Jesus:

Show yourselves tried (δοκιμοί) money changers:

Rejecting much,

But retaining the good (τὸ δὲ καλὸν κατεχόντες)

This agraphon is discussed by Jeremias Unknown Sayings of Jesus,
pp.100ff. He notes that it was extremely popular in the early
Church and its first line is quoted more often than any other
extra canonical dominical saying. The "Early Christian Writers
invariably quote the Pauline saying in 1 Thess. 5.21f as a
comment on our logion"² and they take εἶδος in the sense of
"sort of money" = Latin 'species'. Jeremias thinks that the
correct translation must be "avoid every kind of evil." So he
is not so sure about the link with 1 Thess. 5.22³ On the other

¹ ibid.

² ibid.

³ This is also the view of W. Neil, ad loc.

side Fannon¹ follows Hunter, and, more significantly, so does B. Rigaux,² M. R. James³ and J. B. Lightfoot⁴.

We think that the opinion of the Fathers is not to be lightly set aside and Hunter may well be right.

To summarize our conclusions -

1 Thess. 5.2 and 5.15 seem to us to be fairly definite allusions to sayings of Jesus.

1 Thess. 4.9b is almost certainly not an allusion.

1 Thess. 5.8, 16 are probably not ones.

This leaves 1 Thess. 4.8; 5.3; 5.5; 5.6; 5.13 and 5.21 as "possibles".

Our findings are in general agreement with E. G. Selwyn⁵ who thinks primitive catechetical material underlies this passage. -

We may cite as evidence how 5.5 corresponds to the 'Filii Lucis' section of the catechetical tradition, 5.6 to the 'Vigilate', and how 5.13 seems closely related to the catechetical material in Mark 9.42-50.

The difficult question that keeps recurring and to which no sure answer can be given, concerns the relationship of the sayings of Jesus to this tradition. - Are we to imagine with Selwyn and

¹ op. cit. p.305.

² According to D. E. H. Whiteley, ad loc.

³ He comments that 1 Thess. 5.21f is "really a comment on this saying and shows its meaning." The Apocryphal New Testament, p.35, quoted by L. Morris, ad loc.

⁴ op.cit. p.85 when he quotes a number of passages from the Fathers in this connection.

⁵ see above p.130.

Hunter that sayings of Jesus formed the basis, or at least constituted a part, of this tradition, and so when Paul reminds the Thessalonians of former teaching in 5.2 he means "you remember the teaching of Jesus that I gave you at this point,"¹ or are we to be much more cautious and explain the clear similarities between this passage and portions of the Synoptic Gospels only in terms of common Jewish apocalyptic and ethical teaching?

One cannot be dogmatic about this, but the presence of what seem to us to be clear allusions to sayings of Jesus leads us to favour the former rather than the latter view - it is most likely that sayings of Jesus and the catechetical tradition had some direct relationship. It is then possible, of course, that when Paul alludes to a saying of Jesus he is conscious of doing nothing more than reflecting the catechetical teaching of the Church. Against this, however, is the fact that in 1 Cor. 7.10 and 9.14 he does specifically acknowledge that it is the Lord that he is quoting. So it is more likely that he knew to what or rather to whom he was referring in 1 Thess. 4 and 5. In which case Hunter's interpretation of 1 Thess. 5.2 may well be correct, and the unusual and very strong *ἐκ τῶν λόγων* could lend support to this view.

¹ see Hunter, *op.cit.* pp.126f

COLOSSIANS

Having given lists of allusions in Romans 12-14 and 1 Thess. 4 and 5 Davies,¹ unlike Hunter² and Fannon,³ goes on to list eight more from Colossians 3 and 4. These latter Furnish⁴ does not discuss for he limits himself to letters of "undisputable authenticity." At 3.5 the Epistle to the Colossians changes from being primarily doctrinal to being primarily ethical. Underlying the ethical part of the epistle many scholars⁵ have seen traces of the common catechetical tradition of the early Church, possibly of an early baptismal code. So then this is the same sort of passage as 1 Thess. 4 and 5 and Romans 12-14 and presents us with the same sort of problems.

(i) 3.5: $\nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\tau\epsilon \ \delta\acute{\omicron}\upsilon \ \tau\acute{\alpha} \ \mu\epsilon\lambda\eta \ \tau\alpha \ \epsilon\pi\iota \ \tau\eta\varsigma \ \gamma\eta\varsigma.$

cf. Matt. 5.29f: "If your eye causes you to sin, pluck it out and throw it away, it is better that you lose one of your members ($\epsilon\upsilon \ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \ \mu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu$) than that your whole body be thrown into Gehenna."⁶

Mark 9.45: "And if your hand causes you to sin cut it off; it is better for you to enter life maimed, than with two hands to go to Gehenna,⁶ to the unquenchable fire."

¹ op.cit pp.139f.

² op.cit. p.50

³ op.cit. p.305

⁴ op.cit. pp.11 and 56f.

⁵ See the works of P. Carrington, and E. G. Selwyn already referred to, and also C. F. D. Moule, The Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon, ad loc.; F. F. Bruce, Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians, ad loc.; J. H. Houlden, Paul's Letters from Prison, ad loc.

⁶ R.S.V. margin.

and similarly Matt. 18.8f.

At first sight it appears that there could be some relationship between Paul and the gospel accounts for:

1. the sense is approximately the same,
2. the imagery is similar,
3. μέλος is common to Matt. 5.29 and Col. 3.5,

but on closer examination this seems less likely.

τὸ μέλος¹ is a common Pauline word, Matt. 5.29 is its only occurrence in the gospels and is a passage going back to Matthew's special source. It is most unlikely that Paul's use of the word is dependent upon this passage. Indeed, if there is any dependence it is much more likely that Matthew is following Paul, than vice versa.

Again, Paul is not "expressing himself in quite the same way as Jesus intends"² in the gospel passage we have quoted. τὰ μέλη τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, "Your limbs which are on the earth" is an odd phrase, probably it refers back to 3.2: τὰ ζῶν φρονεῖτε, μὴ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς C. F. D. Moule³ suggests that it might mean, "your limbs as put to earthly purposes." Bruce⁴ explains it as "an extension of the ordinary use of members." Here bodily members that have been used as instruments of sin are viewed as comprehending the various kinds of sin that were committed by their means. At any rate, Paul has moved some

¹ see 'μέλος' by J. Horst, T.D.N.T., 4. 555-568

² F. F. Bruce, ad loc.

³ ad loc.

⁴ ibid.

distance from the straight forward literal sense of μέλος which is found elsewhere in his writings e.g. 1 Cor. 12.26, and in the saying in Matt. 5.29.

There is no other sign here that Paul knew the gospel passages.

The use of Gehenna is confined to the Synoptic Gospels and

Jas. 5.6. This is hardly surprising since it would be unintelligible to Gentile Christians.

ἀποκόπτω (Mark 9.45) is found once in Paul, at Gal. 5.12, referring to emasculation.

ἐκκόπτω (Matt. 5.30) is found in Rom. 11.22ff, of lopping off branches, and figuratively in 2 Cor. 11.12, A.V., "to cut off occasion," R.S.V., "to undermine the claim."

Instead of either of these verbs Paul uses νεκρώω, in a figurative sense that is unique in the New Testament.¹

So the evidence for holding that Paul was alluding to a saying of Jesus is very thin.² On the other hand it seems likely that he is reproducing a piece of the catechetical tradition, - see the tables in Selwyn, op.cit., pp.370, 395.

We may note two additional features that point in this direction -

1. The stereotyped list of vices found in this verse is "one of the surest pointers to the catechetical material," in the opinion

¹ cf. R. Bultmann, art. 'νεκρώω' T.D.N.T. 4, 894.

² This evidence is sufficient for C. Gray, The Epistles of St. Paul to the Colossians and Philemon, ad loc., to link Col. 3.5 with Matt. 5.29.

of C. H. Dodd.¹

2. One of the gospel parallels Mark 9.43 falls within a section of Mark's Gospel which was formulated for catechetical purposes.² So we have in Col. 3.5 an instance where Paul is almost certainly reflecting the catechetical teaching of the early Church and just possibly alluding to a saying of Jesus.

(11) 3.12: "Put on then, as God's chosen ones, holy and beloved, compassion, *σπλῆγν καὶ οἰκτιρμοῦ*, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness."

Davies³ cites Luke 6.38 as the passage to which Paul is alluding, presumably this is a misprint for 6.36:

"Be merciful *οἰκτιρῶντες*, even as your Father is merciful, *οἰκτιρῶν ἐστίν*."

In Col. 3.12 Paul is using terms from the Old Testament, - chosen, holy, beloved - to describe the christians in the New Testament church; adjectives once applied to the Old Israel are now transferred to the New Israel.⁴

Secondly, the *οἰκτεῖρω* group of words is common in Jewish literature.⁵

¹ 'The Primitive Catechism and the sayings of Jesus', pp. 24f.

For a discussion of the origin of these lists, see J. Horst, op.cit. p.565; W. L. Knox, op.cit., p.155 nl; and the commentaries.

² see our discussion on p.p 136f.

³ op.cit. p.159.

⁴ cf. Lightfoot ad loc.

⁵ cf. R. Bultmann, art '*οἰκτεῖρω* κτλ' T.D.N.T. 5, pp.159-161.

These two factors greatly lessen the significance of the similarity between οἰκτιρῶν (Col. 3.12) and οἰκτιρῶν (Luke 6.36)¹ and Bruce² is almost alone in thinking that Paul is echoing Jesus at this point. The other thing to be noted is that this verb probably reflects the 'put on' (Induentes) section of the catechetical tradition.³

So we conclude that

1. the similarity between Col. 3.12 and Luke 6.36 may be explained by reference to the common Old Testament background of both passages.

2. Col. 3.12 reflects the catechetical interest of the early Church.

(iii) 3.13: "Forgiving each other; as the Lord has forgiven you, so you also must forgive."

This passage is discussed in 'Did Paul know the Lord's Prayer', pp 203ff where we conclude that there is no clear evidence that he did.

(iv) 4.2: τῇ προσευχῇ προσκατερέτε, ὑποτασσόμενοι
ἐν αὐτῇ ἐν εὐχαριστίᾳ

cf. Mark 14.37f (par. Matt. 26.40f): "And he came and found them

¹ In the New Testament, this group of words is found as follows:

οἰκτιρῶν

- Luke 6.36; Jas. 5.11

οἰκτεῖν

- Rom. 9.15 (a quotation of Ex. 33.19)

οἰκτιρμός

- Rom. 12.1; 2 Cor 1.3; Phil 2.1; Col. 3.12; Heb. 10.28

² ad loc.

³ cf. E. G. Selwyn op.cit. pp.397f

sleeping, and he said to Peter, 'Simon, are you asleep? Could you not watch one hour? Watch and pray (*γρηγορεῖτε καὶ προσεύχεσθε*)¹ that you may not enter into temptation."

We refer to our discussion of 1 Thess. 5.6, pp.132ff.

Clearly this is another passage that displays the catechetical interest of the early Church.²

Other scholars, in addition to those listed on p.133, who think this piece of catechetical teaching may or does go back to the saying of Jesus in Gethsemane,³ include:-

J. H. Houlden;⁴ C. F. D. Moule;⁵ L. B. Radford;⁶ D. Guthrie;⁷ C. H. Dodd;⁸ E. Lövestam;⁹ A. M. Hunter.¹⁰

¹ Luke 22.46 reads *ἀναστάντες προσεύχεσθε*

² In addition to the literature listed on pp.133f cf.

F. F. Bruce, ad loc.

³ Mark 14.37f; Matt. 26.40f.

⁴ ad loc.

⁵ ad loc. "Possibly it [*γρηγορεῖτε*] contains also a vivid flash of reminiscence of the literal sleep which St. Peter had heard about in the story of the Passion (Matt. 26.40f, etc.) or the Transfiguration (Luke 9.32)."

⁶ The Epistle to the Colossians and the Epistle to Philemon, (Westminster Commentaries). ad loc.

⁷ Colossians (N.B.C.R.) ad loc.

⁸ 'The Primitive Catechism and the Sayings of Jesus', pp.21f.

⁹ Spiritual Wakefulness in the New Testament, Lund, 1963 cited by E. E. Ellis, Luke, p.179.

¹⁰ Galatians to Colossians, p.141

We find ourselves in agreement with them.

This leaves the question as to whether Paul knew he was alluding to a saying of the Lord. Two factors make this more than possible.

1. He does specifically quote the Lord (1 Cor. 7.10; 9.14), so he must have known some of his sayings.

2. The Passion Narrative was the part of the gospels that most interested the early Church (note the disproportionately large section of the Synoptic Gospels that it occupies) and for that reason may well have been known to Paul.¹

(v) 4.5: ἀλλήσαι τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ

cf. Mark 4.11:

ὑμῖν τὸ μυστήριον δέδοται τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Matt. 13.11:

ὑμῖν δέδοται γινῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν.

Luke 8.10: ὑμῖν δέδοται γινῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Mark 4 10-12 has long exercised scholars, and many have grave doubts as to whether it can be a genuine saying of Jesus. The following points have been made in support of such doubts:-

1. The motive for its creation is clear - to lessen the acute problem caused by the fact that by and large Jesus' contemporaries refused to respond to his teaching.²

¹ Perhaps Peter related the incidents in Gethsemane to Paul during his fortnight's visit to Jerusalem, Gal. 1.18.

² cf. C. H. Dodd, The Parables of the Kingdom, p.15.

2. These verses show clear evidence of Pauline influence.¹
3. The use of *μυστήριον* is evidence of the Hellenistic influence of the Gentile christian communities.
4. The question "why teach in parables?" would not have arisen in the incident referred to in Mark 4. "They were the normal vehicles of teaching."

On the other hand, the following points have been made in reply:-

1. While it is no doubt true that the first Christians had difficulty in understanding why Jesus had been rejected by the Jews, this should not be exaggerated. We suspect that this problem would only have become really acute if they, in what they saw as a continuation of the ministry of Jesus, had met unqualified success. In point of fact, the response to their preaching was not dissimilar to that which greeted the preaching of Jesus.
2. The quotation from Isaiah 6.9f is not from the Hebrew nor from the LXX, rather, it would appear to be from the accepted version of the synagogues agreeing with the Aramaic Targum of Isaiah. This is strong evidence for a Palestinian origin of the saying.²

¹ D. E. Nineham St. Mark, p.173 refers to Romans 9-11 for a full working out of the theme of some being saved and some not. Dodd, *op.cit.*, pp.14f lists seven words from Mark 4 11-20 "which are not proper to the rest of the Synoptic record. All seven are characteristic of the vocabulary of Paul." They are -

μυστήριον, οἱ ἔξω, πρόσκαιρος, ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, ἐπιθυμία, διωγμός, θλίψις.

² First noticed by T. W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus, p.77.

5. $\delta\iota' \epsilon\acute{\xi}\omega$ is a phrase which has Rabbinic parallels - in Rabbinic literature $\square \cdot \square \text{ } \text{ז} \cdot \text{נ} \cdot \text{ל}$ "those who are without" can mean "those who do not accept the halakah of the Scribes."¹

Again the setting of the saying would appear to be Palestinian.

4. In contemporary Hellenistic religious literature $\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ was a very common word laden with all the associations of the very popular Mystery Religions. But, on the other hand, it is not completely absent from the LXX and Rabbinic literature. Although the word itself has been borrowed the associations need not have been, as seems indeed to have been the case.

" $\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ is a rare expression in the New Testament which betrays no relation to the mystery cults. Where there seem to be connections (e.g. in sacramental passages) the term is not used; where it is used, there are no such connections."²

5. The objection that the question "Why teach in parables?" would not have arisen loses much of its force if the setting is secondary and the saying was originally in a different context.

¹ cf. J. Behm, ' $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\omega$ ' T.D.N.T., 2, pp.575f.

² G. Bornkamm, ' $\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ ' T.D.N.T., 4, p.824. cf. also R. E. Brown, 'The Semitic Background of the New Testament *Mysterion*', Biblica, 40 p.87, "we believe it no exaggeration to say that, considering the variety and currency of the concept of divine mysteries in Jewish thought, Paul and the New Testament writers could have written everything they did about *mysterion* if there had never been pagan mystery religions. 'Mystery' was part of the native theological equipment of the Jews who came to Christ.", cf. id. part 1 Biblica, 39, pp.426-448; L. B. Radford, op.cit. p.205, C. F. D. Moule, op.cit. pp.80ff.

6. M. Black¹ believes that the differences between the Markan and the Matthaean versions of the saying and the fact that Matthew seems to be dependent on a source other than Mark "is evidence that the question occurred in a genuine Word of Jesus."

7. The strongest reason for the saying being authentic is the very obvious embarrassment it caused the first Christians (cf. the attempts of Luke and Matthew to tone it down). In our view, it is most unlikely that a saying would have been created by the early Church which itself caused more problems than those it was designed to solve.

So we may be confident that this saying or the substance of it, possibly in a different context,² goes back to Jesus himself.

Is Paul here alluding to this saying?

The use of *ὑποτίθω* is inconclusive. Paul uses it in other contexts, and Mark 4.11 and the parallels are the only occurrences of the term in the Gospels.³ What requires closer

¹ op.cit. pp.211-216. Bornkamm op.cit. p.818, on the other hand, thinks the differences between the versions of Mark and Matthew "of little consequence." We cannot share the confidence of Black on this point, though his treatment of this passage does clearly bring out the Aramaic 'sub stratum' of this passage, as does J. Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, pp.13ff.

² Even the conservative C. E. B. Cranfield, ad loc. accepts Mark 4 1-34 as composite.

³ It is found in the apocryphal saying of Jesus quoted in 2 Clement 12 2 and 4, where the meaning seems close to that of 2 Cor. 4.16.

examination, however, is the phrase οἱ ἔξω.

It is found in Mark 4.11: ἐκείνοις δὲ τοῖς ἔξω but it is softened in the parallel passages to ἐκείνους δέ (Matt. 13.11) and τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς (Luke 8.10).

The other occurrences in the New Testament are:

Acts 26.11: εἰς τὴν ἔξω πόλιν

1 Cor. 5.12f: τί γὰρ μοι τοὺς ἔξω κρίναι;

2 Cor. 4.16: ὁ ἔξω ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος διαφθείρεται.

Col. 4.5: ἐν σοφίᾳ περιπατεῖτε πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω.

1 Thess. 4.12: ἵνα περιπατῇτε ὡς ἡμέτερος πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω

and cf. 1 Tim. 3.7: οἱ ἔξωθεν

ὁ ἔξω ἄνθρωπος is a Pauline coinage corresponding to

"the body", "the mortal flesh"¹ and may be omitted from our discussion, as may Acts 26.11.

In the other three references it is clear that Paul uses this phrase to describe those outside the fellowship of the Church.

In Mark 4.11 it refers either to those outside the house, or to those outside the disciples' number, and the latter is more likely.

So, we may say that in all these cases οἱ ἔξω refers to those who are not following Jesus, and this naturally is a specific Christian use of the expression. Its antecedents are most likely those Rabbinic passages² where those without are the people who do not accept the halakah of the Scribes. Mark 4.11 may then be an intermediate link between the Rabbinic literature and Paul's letters, where οἱ ἔξω means "those who do not

¹ Cf. Arndt and Gingrich, 'ἔξω' I. 8.

² Cited by Behm, op.cit. pp. 575f. The Jews used the related

οἱ ἔξωθεν for non-Jews, cf. Jos. Ant. 15. 316 and cf.

I Tim. 3.7.

accept the teaching of Jesus." The usage of Jesus may well have been the bridge between the Rabbinic and the Christian uses of the term.

On the other hand, the early Christians may have simply borrowed directly from the Rabbinic literature. This is supported by the use of περιπατεῖν in Col. 4.5 and 1 Thess. 4.12 since this verb is used to translate the root לָכַד in the LXX¹ and so the connection with the halakah is very close.

To sum up: The similarities between Col. 4.5 and Mark 4.11 are significant but hardly close enough for one to see an allusion.

The use of οἱ ἔσω in Col. 4.5 and Mark 4.11 provides another link between the two passages, but the connection of it with περιπατεῖν in both Col. 4.5 and 1 Thess. 4.12 points to direct borrowing from Rabbinic literature rather than from a saying of Jesus.

(vi) 4.6a: ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν πάντοτε ἐν χάριτι, ἕλατι ῥητυμένους.
cf. Mark 9.50: πῶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἁλισθησεται. κελὸν τὸ ἅλς. ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἅλς ἕλατον γένηται, ἐν τίνι αὐτὸ ῥτυσεται;

Matt. 5.13: ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ ἅλς τῆς γῆς. ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἅλς μωρανθῇ, ἐν τίνι ἁλισθησεται;

Luke 14.34: κελὸν οὖν τὸ ἅλς. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἅλς μωρανθῇ, ἐν τίνι ῥτυθῆσεται;

The picture of salt is not used in the New Testament outside the passages quoted above, though this in itself does not prove dependence, since this picture was quite common in the ancient world.² Black³ quotes a parallel from the Babylonian Talmud,

¹ cf. G. Bertram, 'πατέω κτλ', T.D.N.T. 5, p.942.

² cf. F. Hauck, 'ἅλς', T.D.N.T., 1 pp.228f.

³ op.cit. p.166.

"Salt, if it becomes putrid, wherewith shall it be salted?"

He comments "We appear to have to do with a well known saying, perhaps even a popular proverb. But the words in the Talmud do not help us to account for the language or variants of the Gospel saying".

The three evangelists place the parable in different contexts, and give it slightly different applications:

Matthew places it after the Beatitudes, at the beginning of the Sermon on the Mount. The disciples, as salt, are to exert a purifying and preserving influence in the world.

Luke places it after a series of sayings which stress the costliness of following Jesus, concluding with the words 14.55

"So, therefore, whoever of you does not renounce all that he has cannot be my disciple." The savourless salt, then, is the disciple not prepared to pay the full cost of discipleship.

In Mark, the parable is found at the end of a number of independent sayings grouped according to catchwords.¹ It would appear that to lose one's saltiness (9.50a) is to allow a member (eye, foot, hand) to cause one to sin vv 43ff. The second part of v. 50 has a different application. "Have salt in yourselves and be at peace with one another." In v. 50 the disciples are salt, in v. 50b they have salt. Verse 50b is either another originally independent salt saying, or a comment of the compiler of this passage of sayings.

In his application of the picture Paul agrees with Mark 9.50b, his readers are to have salt, as against Mark 9.50a; Luke 14.34; and Matt. 5.13 when the disciples are salt. In Mark 9.50b it

¹ See the commentaries, and our discussion of 1 Thess. 5.13, pp. 136f.

refers to relations within the group of disciples (cf. 9.33, the dispute among the disciples); in Col. 4.6a it is used of relations with outsiders. It could well be that this transition from being salt to having salt reflects the application by the early Church of the teaching of Jesus, since "those who are the salt of the earth, may reasonably be expected to have some savour about their language."¹

Classical parallels have been quoted where salty speech is 'clever', 'witty', 'flippant' (cf. sales Attici),² but elsewhere in the Epistles Paul finds such speech unattractive, and in the Pastoral Epistles "profane and vain babblings" are condemned.³ He has "more to do than advise his readers that they should cultivate a witty turn in their conversation . . . the salt is not literary allusion or epigram, but the spirit of the gospel."⁴

So the expression must be seen against the background of the Old Testament and Rabbinic literature - e.g. Job 6.6, LXX "Shall bread be eaten without salt, is there any taste in meaningless words?" - and mean giving flavour and point to Christian conversation as well as exhibiting the spirit of the gospel.

That the Synoptic Parable of the Salt goes back at least to the Aramaic speaking community is shown by the fact that the variants *ἡλὼν γένεται* (Mark 9.50) and *ἡλωθῇ* (Matt. 5.13, Luke 14.34) are translations of the Aramaic *taphel*.⁵

¹ F. F. Bruce, ad loc.

² cf. J. B. Lightfoot ad loc.

³ 1 Tim. 6.20; 2 Tim. 2.16; (A.V.)

⁴ E. F. Scott, ad loc.; for the contrary view see A. M. Hunter, ad loc.

⁵ cf. Jeremias The Parables of Jesus, p. 168; Black op.cit., p.166.

There do not seem, however, to be parallels in either Rabbinic or pagan literature to describing people as salt; this could well go back to Jesus¹ himself. In which case, Paul's usage in Col. 4.6a reflects the application of this saying in the early Church, a development also evident in Mark 9.50b.

(vii) 4.6b: εἰς ἐνὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἰσοκρίνεσθαι

Sayings about the assistance of the Holy Spirit to answer others appear in several forms in the gospels:

Mark 13.11: "And when they bring you to trial and deliver you up, do not be anxious beforehand what you are to say; but say whatever is given you in that hour, for it is not you who speak but the Holy Spirit."

Matt. 10.19f: "When they deliver you up do not be anxious how you are to speak or what you are to say; for what you are to say will be given you in that hour, for it is not you who speak but the Spirit of your Father speaking through you."

Luke 12.11f: "And when they bring you before the synagogues and the rulers and the authorities, do not be anxious how or what you are to answer or what you are to say; for the Holy Spirit will teach you in that very hour what you ought to say."

Luke 21.14f: "Settle it therefore in your minds, not to meditate beforehand how to answer; for I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which none of your adversaries will be able to withstand or contradict."

John 14.26: "But the counselor, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I have said to you."

¹ cf. C. H. Dodd, 'The Primitive Catechism and the Sayings of Jesus', p.26, comments, "the Bildwort about savourless salt, certainly belongs to the central tradition of Sayings of the Lord."

Most scholars think that both the Marcan/Matthaeian and the Lucan versions go back to an Aramaic original, though there is disagreement as to which is the more original and whether the reference to the Holy Spirit has been added by the Church. C. K. Barrett¹ thinks that the reference to the Holy Spirit is a post-Easter addition, so he considers Luke 21.15 to be the most primitive form of the saying. In his view, the other forms reflect interpretation and application by the Church in the face of persecution. He does not doubt however that Jesus promised divine assistance to his followers when put on trial before human authorities. "The tradition to this effect is so well attested that it is hardly possible to doubt its authenticity."² On the other hand, Cranfield³ and Vincent Taylor⁴ consider Mark 13.11 the more original, and Schweizer⁵ would trace it back in substance to Jesus himself.

While the case for the priority of Luke 21.14f is strong, the verses does exhibit some secondary features, e.g. the saying has been given more point by using ἀπολογέομαι instead of the more general λέγω.⁶

¹ The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition, pp.130ff.

² *ibid.*

³ *ad loc.*

⁴ *ad loc.*

⁵ 'πνεῦμα', T.D.N.T. 6, p.402. W. G. Kümmel, Promise and Fulfilment, p.99 n40 thinks that the oldest form, (Luke 21.14f) may be traced back to Jesus.

⁶ ἀπολογέομαι is a favourite word of Luke, eight of its ten occurrences in the New Testament are in Luke/Acts.

However one decides this matter, there is more general agreement that a saying of Jesus proved so appropriate to the persecuted church that it found its way into more than one strand of the New Testament witness. The version of the saying found in Paul may well reflect the earliest form for:

1. There is no reference to the Holy Spirit, (assuming that such a reference indicates the editorial activity of the Church);
2. ἀποκρίνομαι lacks the specific application of ἀπολογέομαι.
3. There is no reference to persecution (assuming again that such a reference would indicate secondary features in the saying).

Col. 4.6b refers to the witness in life and speech of the believer to those outside the fellowship of the Church(οἱ ἔξω v.5).

Cf. 1 Pet. 3.15 which seems to envisage a similar situation, though the use of ἀπολογία may indicate a more formal self-defence.¹

We conclude that Col. 4.6b is probably an echo of the saying of Jesus about divine assistance under verbal examination, and is nearest in form to the version recorded in Luke 21.14f.

(viii) 4.12: πάντοτε ἀγωνιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇς προδοχαῖς, ἵνα σταθῆτε τέλειοι.

W. D. Davies² places this in a list of verses that reveal

"Knowledge of the words and spirit of Jesus" and compares with it

Luke 21.36: καὶ σταθῆναι ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ὁπίου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου

Luke 13.24: ἀγωνίζεσθε εἰσελθεῖν διὰ τῆς στενῆς θύρας.

Matt. 5.48: ἔσεσθε οὖν ὑμᾶς τέλειοι.

¹ See the commentaries.

² op.cit. pp.139f

Let us look at these verses in the reverse order:

1. The link with Matt. 5.48 is presumably the occurrence of *τέλειος* there. Matt. 19.21, the reply of Jesus to the Rich Young Ruler, is the only other place in the Gospels where it is found; in this case Matthew seems to have redrafted the reply of Jesus for the parallel passages read:

Mark 10.21: *ἔν σοι ὑπερέτι.*

Luke 18.22: *ἐπὶ ἐν σοι λείπει.*

So Matt. 19.21 is secondary in its wording, and Matt. 5.48 may be also for the parallel, Luke 6.56, reads: *γίνεσθε οἰκτιρμονες*¹

One would, therefore be very adventurous to suggest that Paul's use of *τέλειος* in Col. 4.12 or indeed anywhere else in his epistles is dependent on the usage of Jesus as recorded in Matt. 5.48.²

2. The link with Luke 15.24 is provided by *ἁγωνίζομαι*, which is the only occurrence of the verb in the Gospels, though *ἁγωνία* is found at Luke 22.44. *ἁγωνίζομαι* and *ἁγών* are more common in Paul's letters, however,³ and are already found at 1.29 and 2.1 in this epistle. So the common occurrence of

¹ It is possible that Matt. 5.48 and Luke 6.36 were originally completely independent sayings, cf T. W. Manson, The Sayings of Jesus p.55; A. W. Argyle, 'M and the Pauline Epistles', Expository Times 81, p.342.

² A. W. Argyle, *ibid.*, does suggest some connection between them.

³ *ἁγωνίζομαι* is found at - 1 Cor. 9.25; Col. 1.29; 4.12; cf. 1 Tim. 4.10; 6.12; 2 Tim. 4.7.

ἁγών is found at - Phil. 1.50; Col. 2.1; 1 Thess. 2.2; cf. 1 Tim. 6.12; 2 Tim. 4.7; and *συναγωνίζομαι* at Rom. 15.30. See Moulton and Geden for the complete list.

ἁγωνίζομαι

in Col. 4.12 and Luke 13.24 may not be very significant.

What to us, appears more important, is the association of ἁγωνίζομαι /

ἁγωνία / συνἁγωνίζομαι

with prayer -

Luke 22.44f;¹ Rom. 15.30; Col. 4.12. To "wrestle in prayer" is a very vivid and unusual phrase and a rather cursory glance at the contemporary literature has not revealed any other occurrences of it apart from the above.² If this is an accurate assessment of the situation, then those scholars³ who think that this verse may contain a reminiscence of Christ's agony in Gethsemane could well be right.

But we can come to no confident judgement of this matter since two assumptions have been made which may well be ill founded, namely those concerning the textual integrity of Luke 22.43f, and the absence of the phrase "wrestling in prayer" or the like from contemporary literature.

3. The other verse which Davies compares with Col. 4.12 is Luke 21.36, which speaks of "standing before the Son of Man."

¹ We are assuming that Luke 22.43f is a genuine piece of the gospel tradition. For the details of the discussion, see the commentaries.

² Lightfoot, ad loc., cites Justin Apology 2, 13:

καὶ εὐχόμενος καὶ παγμύχως ἁγωνίζόμενος

This is of course later and perhaps dependent on the present passages. cf. E. Stauffer, 'ἁγών κατ', T.D.N.T., 1 pp.139f.

L. B. Radford, ad loc. thinks the phrase is an echo of Jacob's wrestling with the angel of the Lord, Gen. 32.24, but there the verb used is πλάττω and there is no mention of prayer.

³ So J. B. Lightfoot ad loc.; C. F. D. Moule ad loc.; D. Guthrie ad loc.

The whole verse reads: "But watch at all times, praying that you may have strength to escape all these things that will take place, and to stand before the Son of Man."

The command to "watch" reminds us of 1 Thess. 5.6. Selwyn in a table¹ shows similarities between Luke 21.34-36 and 1 Thess. 5.1-8.

In this he is supported by J. A. T. Robinson, who gives his own table,² and the two Mansons.³ In our discussion,⁴ we noted the strong influence of the catechesis of the Church in both these passages, and we have also pointed out that such influence is not absent from Col. 3 and 4.⁵ We conclude, then, that

στῆθιτε in Col. 4.12 does not point to any dependence of this verse on Luke 21.36, (Davies does not claim it does!) nor to any knowledge of the teaching of Jesus in any direct sense⁶

¹ op. cit. pp.376-378, reproduced in part above p.130. We should also note Selwyn's other table, op.cit. pp.442-449.

² op.cit. p.114.

³ T. W. Manson, The Sayings of Jesus, pp.554f; W. Manson, Luke p.256.

⁴ pp.127ff.

⁵ pp.142ff.

⁶ Some scholars see Luke 21.36 as a secondary creation e.g.

"Kummel op.cit., p.45 n85; Robinson op.cit. pp.80f, but note also his remarks on p.114. Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, p.119 thinks that the terminology of Luke 21.34-36 is so close to Paul's "that one could hazard a guess that Luke was here using a fragment from some lost epistle written by Paul or one of his disciples." Few scholars would go quite so far as this. For a more conservative view of. W. Manson, *ibid.*

(which Davies seems to think that it does), but both passages show the catechetical concern of the early Church.¹

To summarize our findings:

Of the eight passages examined six show clear sign of reflecting the catechetical interests of the early Church (the exceptions are 3.15 and 4.6b).

Two were found to be probable allusions (4.2, 6b), two were possible allusions (3.5; 4.6a) and four were probably not allusions.

The gospel parallels to the allusions are:

3.5 - Matt. 5.29f cf. Mark 9.43

4.2 - Mark 14.37f; par. Matt. 26.40f

4.6a - Mark 9.50

4.6b - Luke 21.14f; cf Mark 13.11; Matt. 10.19f; Luke 12.11f;

John 14.26

The other noteworthy gospel parallel was

4.12 - Luke 21.36

¹ cf. E. G. Selwyn, op.cit., p.448 and pp.459ff.

OTHER POSSIBLE ALLUSIONS

Apart from the three main blocks of Pauline material which we have already examined some other alleged allusions require discussion:

- (1) Rom. 2.19: πεποιθὲς τε σεαυτὸν ὁδηγὸν εἶναι τυφλῶν.
 cf. Matt. 15.14: τυφλοὶ εἰσιν ὁδηγοὶ τυφλῶν. ...
 Luke 6.39: μήτι δύναται τυφλὸς τυφλὸν ὁδηγεῖν;

In Rom. 2 Paul addresses the Jews, in possession of the Law, who were condemning the Gentiles. He argues that it is not possession of but obedience to the Law which is the important thing (v.13).

In vv.17ff we have a glimpse of how they saw their relationship with the Gentiles -

"Since we rely upon the Law and know the will of God we surely are a guide to the blind, a light to those in darkness, a corrector of the foolish, a teacher of children."

"Then," says Paul, "practice what you preach. You preach against stealing, adultery, idolatry, are you not guilty of all these? By breaking the Law you are in the same position as the Gentiles." (vv. 21-25, cf. 2.1).

The Scribes and Pharisees whom Jesus addresses in Matt. 15 took an almost identical view of themselves as did these Jews to whom Paul speaks in Rom. 2:

They possessed the Law and the tradition of the Fathers (15.3).

They rebuked those whom they thought broke this law (15.2).

They saw themselves as leaders of the people whom they thought were blind (15.14).

But note how Jesus saw them:

professing to keep the Law they broke it, vv.3 and 6f.

they led the blind but being in the same condition they were blind themselves, v.14.

they did not practice what they preached (cf. Matt. 23.3).

So we note that the similarities between Matt. 15 and Rom. 2 concern, not only the way the Pharisees and the Jews see themselves, but also the way Jesus and Paul see them.

Now we turn to the verbal similarities between Rom. 2.19 and Matt. 15.14.

τυφλός occurs frequently in the gospels but only here in Paul.

ὁδηγός occurs three times in Matt. in each case with the adjective τυφλός, once in Acts and here in Paul.¹

ὁδηγέω (Luke 6.39; Matt. 15.14) occurs once in John's Gospel, in Acts, and in the Revelation.² It is absent from Paul.

That both τυφλός and ὁδηγός only occur here in the whole of Paul's writings strengthens the case for a connection between this passage and Matt. 15.14. Some commentators see this as simply due to the quotation of the same saying (which they consider proverbial) in these two passages.³ Against that view however Michaelis can find no parallels to a leader of the blind - if this saying is proverbial, it is otherwise unknown - and he concludes that the picture in Rom. 2.19 "surely owes its origin to the judgment of Jesus which Paul must have known."⁴

¹ Matt. 15.14; 23.16; 23.24; Acts 1.16;

² John 16.13; Acts 8.31; Rev. 7.17.

³ cf. C. H. Dodd, ad loc.; Sanday and Headlam, ad loc.; J. Knox, Exegesis of 'Romans', I.B. ad loc.

⁴ 'ὁδηγός', T.D.N.T. V pp.99f. This is also the view of G. R. Cragg, Exposition of 'Romans', I.B. 9 ad loc; J. S. Stewart, op.cit., p.290; A. W. Argyle, 'M and the Pauline Epistles', Expository Times, 81.p.341; cf. ibid., 'Parallels between the Pauline Epistles and Q', Expository Times, 60, p.320, where he makes much of the links between Romans and Luke 6.27-49. We consider Matt. 15.14 placed in a similar context to be the nearer parallel.

(ii) Rom. 8.15: " but you have received the spirit of sonship. Where we cry, 'Abba, Father!'"

The Aramaic 'Abba' occurs in two other New Testament passages - Mark 14.36 and Gal. 4.6. We are not attempting to show that Rom. 8.15 is an allusion to any passage in the Gospels, we simply refer to our discussion of the Lord's Prayer¹ to establish that when Paul uses the word we have an echo of the ipsissima vox of Jesus.

(iii) Rom. 16.19: *Θέλω δὲ ὑμῖς σοφοὺς εἶναι εἰς τὸ ἔχθρον, ἑκέραιους δὲ εἰς τὸ κενόν.*

cf. Matt. 10.16 *γίνεσθε ὡς φρόνιμοι ὡς οἱ ὄφεις καὶ ἑκέραιοι ὡς ἡ περιστέραι.*

We note:

1. The common use of the rare *ἑκέραιος*, which is only found else where in the New Testament at Phil. 2.15.
2. The similarity in form, with two contrasting clauses in each saying.
3. The similarity in sense between *σοφός* and *φρόνιμος*. Both words occur predominantly in Matthew and Paul.²
4. *Θέλω ὑμῖς εἶναι* is equivalent to *γίνεσθε*
5. Michel³ considers it likely that Paul is here in touch with a tradition going back to Jesus. Support for this view is found in J. S. Stewart, op.cit. p.290; A. M. Hunter, Paul and his Predecessors, p.50; A. W. Argyle, 'M and the Pauline Epistles,' Expository Times,

¹ pp. 201ff.

² *σοφός* is found twice in Matthew, once in Luke, four times in Romans, ten times in 1 Cor., and once in Ephesians and James.
φρόνιμος is found seven times in Matthew, twice in Luke, twice in Romans and 1 Cor., and once in 2 Cor.

³ cited by F. J. Leenhardt ad loc.

81 p.341. It is considered possible by Dodd¹; Bruce²; Bultmann³; Schoeps⁴; and J. Knox⁵.

(iv) Gal.5.14:

ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ἐν ἑνὶ λόγῳ πεπλήρωται ἐν τῷ
ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν.

Three passages from the Synoptic Gospels must be examined in discussion of this verse, the feature common to them and Gal. 5.14 being the quotation from Lev. 19.18 to provide a summary of the law,⁶ they are Mark 12.24-34; Matt. 22.34-40; Luke 10.25-28. In these passages, in a discussion about the greatest commandment in the law, Deut. 6.5 and Lev. 19.18 are quoted together.

The Lucan version differs from the Marcan and the Matthaean both in the introductory question and also in the O.T. quotations being put into the mouth of the lawyer.

In Mark, after quoting the two O.T. passages Jesus says, "There is no other commandment greater than these"(Mark 12.31). These are the two most important commandments in the Law and the difference between them and all the rest is quantitative.

¹ ad loc.

² ad loc.

³ Theology of the New Testament I, p.188.

⁴ op.cit., p.56.

⁵ ad loc.

⁶ For a discussion of the relationship between these passages see on Rom. 13.8-10, pp. 105ff.

In Matthew, however, the conclusion of Jesus is rather different, "On these two commandments depend all the law and the prophets," (Matt. 22.40). This is a development from Mark - no longer are they simply the two most important commandments, now the difference is qualitative, they are of a different order from all the other commandments. As objects are dependent upon the nail upon which they hang, and fall if the nail gives way, "So the details of moral conduct, or the individual requirements of the law, are dependent on the law of love."¹

More precise elaboration of the relationship between the law and love presents difficult problems, but it seems clear that what Paul says of the relationship between them in Rom. 13.8-10 and Gal. 5.14 is of the same order as Matt. 22.40 - in some sense the Law is dependent upon the law of love for it is fulfilled by it.² "κρέμνται³ ἀνα κεφαλῇ οὗται⁴ and πεπλήρωται⁵ are exact material parallels which have the same fact in view."⁶

¹ G. Bertram, 'κρεμάννυμι', T.D.N.T. III p.920.

² of R. Bultmann 'Jesus and Paul' in Existence and Faith, London 1961 p.224. "In this respect also Paul is in complete accord with Jesus: the real demand of the law is love, in which all the other commandments are summed up (Gal. 5.14; Rom. 13.8-10)." of. Schoeps op.cit., pp.208f.

³ Matt. 22.40

⁴ Rom. 13.9.

⁵ Gal. 5.14.

⁶ Bertram, *ibid.*, pp.920f.

So Paul and Matthew¹ see the relationship between the Law and the love of one's neighbour in substantially the same way; is the connection between them any stronger than this?

Elsewhere² we have quoted passages in the O.T. and Jewish literature³ where love of one's neighbour is stressed, but in these passages and in Jewish thought generally the neighbour one is exhorted to love was always one's fellow Jew. Jesus, however, taught that one's neighbour was anyone whom God put in one's way, irrespective of his race or religion. cf. Luke 10.29-37; Matt. 5.43ff. It is in this unrestricted sense of the word that Paul uses it; - in Rom.13.8 Paul uses τὸν ἕτερον⁴ instead of τὸν πλησίον and Barrett comments⁵ - "Love for the neighbour can too easily be misinterpreted as 'love for the like minded man who is congenial to me,' love is not Christian love if it cannot include love the the man who differs from me in every way." Cole⁶, therefore, is incorrect in explaining Paul's similarity to Jesus on this as being based on a common Jewish source of which they both approve, for Paul is surely dependent on Jesus in his wider application of the term 'neighbour'.

¹ Matt. 22.40 is clearly editorial comment.

² on Rom. 13.8-10; pp. 107, 110.

³ cf. Burton, Galatians, p.296.

⁴ It is possible to construe ἕτερος as an adjective qualifying νόμος, and translate 'for he who loves fulfils the other law' but the more usual translation is to be preferred. cf. Cranfield ad.loc.

⁵ Romans ad loc.

⁶ Galatians ad loc.

Did he know of the incident that lies behind the three synoptic passages quoted above?

Adeney¹ and Sanders² think that if he had known of this incident he would have quoted Deut. 6.4f as well. Though Adeney grants that though "he may have heard a general report of our Lord's words on the subject" nevertheless "he does not seem to be in possession of an exact account of them."³ Assuming that the double quotation of Deut. 6.4f and Lev. 19.18 goes back to Jesus - and it is at latest pre-Markan - does the fact that Paul only quotes Lev. 19.18 make his knowledge of this incident less likely?

Bligh⁴ answers this question in the negative. He thinks that Paul uses νόμος here in the restricted sense of 'the law of the second table' i.e. commandments 5-10 of Exod. 20. He gives two reasons for this view -

- (i) in Rom. 13.8-10 Paul quotes only the laws of the second table.
- (ii) when other Jews, e.g. Rabbi Hillel⁵, give a short epigrammatic summary of the law, they simply summarize 'the rule of moral conduct.'

We would not be as quick as he to discard the view that in both Gal. 5.14 and Rom. 13.8-10 since Paul is speaking only to believers he can assume the first commandment, that they love God with their whole being, and so he puts all the emphasis on the second which they must keep to fulfil the whole law.

¹ Galatians, ad loc.

² 'Galatians' (Peake), ad loc.

³ ad loc.

⁴ Galatians, ad loc. He sees the problem in a slightly different way - viz. Jesus sums up the law in two precepts but Paul sums up the whole law in one precept.

⁵ quoted on Rom. 13.8, p. 107.

In the following verse, (Gal. 5.15) he rebukes his readers for not displaying this love to one another. He describes their behaviour in terms of wild beasts mauling each other to the death - they bite ($\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) and devour ($\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon$) each other. This illustration is not common in Paul - nowhere else is $\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\upsilon\omega$ found in the New Testament, and the only other occurrence of $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$ in Paul is 2 Cor. 11.20. We may presume that he was addressing himself to a very serious situation. What more appropriate passage to quote than Lev. 19.18 which his Lord had used in a summary of the whole Law?

When addressing a situation as serious as this Paul is not one to give any detail but that which has immediate relevance to his argument - his discussion of his relationship with the Apostles at Jerusalem in Gal. 1 & 2 provides us with a very good example of this. The content of his discussion there is governed by his concern to refute the two charges of his Galatian opponents, viz. that he was an inferior apostle to the others, and that he preached an incomplete gospel - and information which has no direct bearing on this he leaves out,¹ presumably because he felt it would lessen the impact of his argument.

Similarly, in Gal. 5.15, he leaves out the quotation of Deut. 6 as not being immediately relevant to the problem he is facing. The verses that follow clearly show that he does not view love of the neighbour as being complete in itself. He describes proper conduct in accordance with the will of God as a 'walking in the Spirit' (vv.16,25) and 'the fruit of the Spirit' (vv.22f). This

¹ cf. our discussion of Gal. 1 & 2, pp.9ff.

provides a proper balance for v.14. The life of love is not something which we can manage ourselves, it is the outworking of our God-given Spirit within. So to Him we must look, as well as to our neighbour.

So we conclude that Paul is following his Master's teaching in seeing love as the fulfilment of the Law.¹

(v) Gal. 5.21:

οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν.

The expression 'kingdom of God' is not very common in Paul, occurring (along with the expressions, kingdom of Christ, kingdom of his son, etc.) only eleven times in his writings.² He talks of inheriting the kingdom in 1 Cor. 6.9f, 15.50. In the gospels, on the other hand, references to the kingdom are much more common.³

We turn to the two passages in 1 Cor. quoted above which talk of inheriting the kingdom.

1 Cor. 15.50; "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God." C. K. Barrett⁴ refers to the interpretation of the verse by J. Jeremias⁵ when he concludes that the meaning of the verse is that

¹ cf. Argyle op.cit. p.341 "surely we detect an echo of this saying of Jesus (Matt.22.40) in Paul's words (Rom.13.10, Gal.5.14)". Apart from the literature cited on Rom. 13.8-10, cf. also H. N. Ridderbos on Gal.5.14; W. Hendriksen on Gal. 5.14.

² Rom.14.17; 1 Cor. 4.20; 6.9,10; 15.24,50; Gal.5.21; Col.1.13, 4.11; 1 Thess.2.12; 2 Thess.1.5; cf. Eph.5.5; 2 Tim.4.1; 4.18.

³ 56 times in Matt., 18 times in Mark, 45 times in Luke and 4 times in John.

⁴ ad loc.

⁵ New Testament Studies, 2, 151-159.

"neither the living nor the dead can take part in the kingdom of God - as they are." The inheritance will be realized at "the Last Day."

1 Cor. 6.9f provides a closer parallel to Gal. 5.21:

ἢ οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι ἑδικοί Θεοῦ βασιλείαν οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν.

In both passages he makes reference to teaching which they had

already received - Gal 5.21: ἃ προλέγω ὑμῖν καθὼς προεῖπον ὅτι

1 Cor. 6.9: ἢ οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι

Secondly in both he gives a list of vices which disqualify one from entry into the kingdom:-

1 Cor. 6.9f.

πόρνοι
εἰδωλολάτραι
μοιχοί
μαλακοί
ἁρσενοκοῖται
κλέπται
πλεονέκται
μέθυσοι
λοιδοροί
ἑρπαγες

Gal. 5.19ff.

πορνεία
ἡκαθαρσία
ἀσέλγεια
εἰδωλολατρία
φαρμακεία
ἔχθραι
ἔρις
ζῆλος
θυμοί
ἐριθείαι
διχοστασίαι
αἵρέσεις
φθόνοι
μέθαι
κῶμοι.

Doubtless these lists were framed with the particular situation at Corinth and Galatia in mind, but there are features common to both of them.

Turning to the Synoptic Gospels, we find that as regards teaching on the kingdom, Paul is nearest to Matthew's Gospel, for the following reasons:-

1. Matt. 25.34: κληρονομήσατε τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην ὑμῖν βασιλείαν ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου.

This is the only occurrence of the expression 'inherit the kingdom' in the Gospels, found in the midst of a parable exclusive to Matthew.

2. In this parable of the Last Judgment, Matt. 25.31-46, we have a list of the virtues and vices which determined who gained the inheritance and who did not. Though the list bears little relation to Paul's lists in 1 Cor. 6.9f and Gal. 5.20, yet the fact that Matthew gives a list is surely significant.

3. The third point of contact between this parable and Paul is that Matthew describes those who inherit the kingdom as the δίκαιοι (25.37) and Paul describes those who shall not inherit the kingdom as the ἄδικοι (1 Cor. 6.9).

4. Finally, we turn to another parable, though one found in the three gospels, the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen, Mark. 12.1-12; Matt. 21.33-44; Luke 20.9-18.

All three versions show evidence of the church's christological colouring of this parable of Jesus¹, but Matthew alone explicitly states that the inheritance is the kingdom of God.

¹ cf. Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, pp. 73ff.

21.43. "Therefore I tell you, the kingdom of God will be taken away from you and given to a nation producing the fruits of it." This presents a development on the Jewish thought of the day for "Judaism did not speak of inheriting the kingdom of God, and the Rich Young Ruler did so only when, like the Rabbis, he asked 'What shall I do to inherit eternal life? (Mark 10.17 and parr.).'"¹ It is unlikely that this verse is a creation of Matthew's. Jeremias² notes "The interpretation of ἄλλοι as Gentiles (only in Matt. 21.43) is earlier than Matthew, since ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ (only four times in Matthew) is not one of his characteristic expressions; his own usage is ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν (32 times)."³ The seeds of this interpretation may go back to Jesus himself -- "When Jesus in his earthly lowliness describes himself as υἱὸς καὶ κληρονόμος, the concept of the kingdom of God and of the inheritance is freed from all earthly limitations and qualifications. The kingdom or inheritance is the new world in which God reigns alone and supreme."⁴ For Matthew the parable "has become an exact outline of the story of redemption from the covenant at Sinai to the founding of the Gentile church (21.43)."⁴ This would appear to be the theme of Gal. 3 & 4 where Paul argues that the promises God made to Abraham through a covenant now rightly belong to his spiritual descendants, i.e. those Jews and Gentiles who have faith as he had, these are the sons of Abraham and his heirs (κληρονόμοι).

¹ W. Foerster, 'κληρὸς καὶ', T.D.N.T. III p.782.

² op.cit., p.77 n.6.

³ Foerster, *ibid.*

⁴ Jeremias, op.cit., p.77.

So we see that not only is Matthew the only gospel writer who speaks of inheriting the kingdom, but also his understanding of the inheritance of the kingdom as extending to Gentiles who have faith, is in close accord with Paul's.

We conclude that since there are these common features, in both expression and understanding, between Paul and Matthew, they are very probably dependent on a common tradition and to that extent we may assert that here we have a Pauline allusion to the teaching of Jesus.

(vi) Phil. 4.6: *μηδὲν μεριμνᾶτε ἁπλῶς παντὶ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ σεύσῃ μετὰ εὐχαριστίας τὰ ἐπιτήματα ὑμῶν γνωρίζετε πρὸς τὸν θεόν*

cf. Matt. 6.25: *μη μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν τί φάγητε*

Luke 12.22: *μη μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ τί φάγητε.*

A number of commentators, e.g. Houlden¹, Foulkes², Martin³, simply compare Matt. 6.25ff with this verse.⁴ Some are prepared to be more specific about the relationship between these two passages - Beasley-Murray⁵ thinks "Matt. 6.25ff may be in Paul's mind;" Beare⁶ holds that Phil. 4.6ff echoes the Sermon on the Mount; H. G. G. Herklots⁷ finds this "almost a quotation from the Sermon on the Mount"; and J. H. Michael⁸ thinks that Paul is echoing

¹ op.cit., ad loc.

² 'Philippians', N.B.C.R., ad loc.

³ The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians, ad loc.

⁴ Luke 12.22 hardly gets a mention by the commentators.

⁵ 'Philippians', (Peake) ad loc.

⁶ The Epistle to the Philippians, ad loc.

⁷ The Epistle of St. Paul to the Philippians, ad loc.

⁸ The Epistle to the Philippians, ad loc.

the teaching of his Master, recorded in Matt. 6.25ff. Herklots¹ refers to a statement by Anderson Scott² that this teaching was so far from being an ethical commonplace that he could find no parallel to it among the ancient writers except here, in Paul. It is our view that the teaching of Jesus which has been recorded in the Sermon on the Mount was in Paul's mind at this point.

(vii) 1 Cor. 13.2: *κὶν ἔχω πᾶσαν τὴν πίστιν ὥστε ὅρη μετακίνησαι.*

cf. Matt. 17.20: "if you have faith as a grain of mustard seed you will say to this mountain *μετίβη ἑαυτὴν ἐκεῖ, καὶ μεταβήσεται.*

Mark 11.23: "Whoever says to this mountain 'Be taken up (*ᾶρθητι*) and cast into the sea,' and does not doubt in his heart, but believes what he says will come to pass, it will be done for him."

Matt. 21.21: "If you have faith and never doubt, you will not only do what has been done to the fig tree, but even if you say to this mountain, 'Be taken up and cast into the sea', it will be done."

J. S. Stewart³ thinks Paul is reproducing Jesus' imagery as found in Matt. 17.20. Hunter⁴ and Fannon⁵ think the allusion is to Mark 11.23 and the parallel Matt. 21.21, Bruce⁶ thinks Paul is alluding to either Mark 11.23 or to Matt. 17.20, par. Luke 17.6.

¹ *ibid.*

² Living Issues in the New Testament, p.22.

³ *op.cit.*, p.289

⁴ *op.cit.*, p.50.

⁵ *op.cit.*, p.305.

⁶ 1 & 2 Corinthians, ad loc.

Those who take a negative view on this matter, e.g. Barrett¹, and Robertson & Plummer², note that "to uproot mountains" is a proverbial expression found in rabbinic literature,³ which Hunter grants, "Doubtless 'removing mountains' was a current cliché among the Rabbis for doing the impossible,"⁴ but he continues, "Paul's connection of it with 'faith' suggests that he knew the Lord's saying (Mark 11.23= Matt. 21.21)."

This is of significance, for outside the four passages quoted above we have no other references (independent of them) where 'faith' and 'removing mountains' are connected. Hering comments,⁵ "Quant à la *πίστις* 'transportant les montagnes' il est impossible de ne pas penser à la parole rapportée par Marc 11.23 (et Matt. 21.21). Comme cette locution ne se trouve ni dans l'A.T. ni dans la littérature juive apocryphe ou talmudique, on peut admettre que Paul ait en connaissance de cette parole du Christ, par la voie de la tradition orale."

We think we may be reasonably sure that we have an allusion here. As regards the particular gospel strand to which Paul seems closest, it is interesting to note that his vocabulary shows similarities with Luke - *μεθίστημι* is found three times in Luke/Acts, in Col.1.13,

¹ ad loc.

² ad loc.

³ Strack-Billerbeck i.759 quotes a case where 'mountain remover' denotes a rabbi who can remove difficulties of interpretation (cited by Granfield, on Mark 11.23.)

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ ad loc. cf. Parry ad loc.; Williams (Peake) ad loc. "Again Paul reveals that he knew a collection of the ipsissima verba of Jesus." Others who find an allusion here include Findlay E.G.T. ad loc.; McNeile on Matt.17.20, and C.T. Craig, *Exegesis of 1 Corinthians*, I.B. ad loc.

and the present passage, and nowhere else in the New Testament - but his imagery is the same as Mark and Matthew.¹ Perhaps we may go further and say that since Matt.17.20 seems to be the nearest in form to 1 Cor. 13.2, Paul is closest to the M strand of gospel tradition.

Professor J. S. Stewart in his book on Pauline Theology, A Man in Christ, pp.273ff discusses Paul's knowledge of the life and teaching of the historic Jesus. He suggests some other allusions:

(viii) 1 Cor. 12.3.

"When Paul ... declares to the Corinthians, 'No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost,' he is virtually reproducing the great words of the Master to Peter. 'Flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee but My Father which is in heaven.'² This view had been put forth earlier by W. Sanday in the Appendix to A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels vol. II, p.888,³ but we have come across no later writer who lends this suggestion any support.

(ix) 2 Cor. 10.1.

"I Paul, myself entreat you διὰ τῆς πρᾶτης καὶ ἐπιεικείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ."

Paul is "thus stressing the very qualities enshrined in our Lord's own words"⁴ πρᾶς ἐμὶ καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ (Matt.11.29).

¹ The Lucan parallel to Matt.17.20, Luke 17.6 refers not to a mountain but to a fig tree and may well be an independent saying. of. Manson, Sayings of Jesus, pp.140f.

² *ibid.*, p.277

³ edited by James Hastings, Edinburgh, 1908.

⁴ *ibid.* p.287.

We feel it more likely that he is pointing to the life of Jesus,¹ rather than to his teaching at this point as indeed Stewart grants, but it is quite conceivable (and the balance of probability lies with this view), that Paul knew of these personal qualities of the life of Jesus quite independent of the saying of Matt. 11.29. For that reason this cannot be considered a sure allusion.

(x) 1 Cor. 10.21:

"You cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of demons". Stewart² thinks this points back to Matt. 6.24, "No man can serve two masters You cannot serve God and mammon." This is fanciful.

In a footnote on the same page Professor Stewart gives 'further illustrations' of Paul's knowledge of the teaching of Jesus. Romans 2.19; Romans 16.19 and 1 Thess. 5.6ff, which we have already discussed, and in addition:

(xi) 1 Cor. 1.22:

"For Jews demand signs and Greeks seek wisdom." He compares this with Mark 8.11f: "The Pharisees came and began to argue with him, seeking from him a sign from heaven to test him. And he sighed deeply in his spirit and said "Why does this generation seek a sign? Truly, I say to you, no sign shall be given to this generation."³

¹ cf. F. F. Bruce, ad loc. "This provides incidental confirmation of the Gospel portrayal of Jesus;" and Plummer, ad loc.

² *ibid.*, p.277

³ *ibid.*, p.287.

The similarity between these passages is not close enough for an allusion to be posited at this point.

(xii) 1 Cor. 7.7:

"I wish that all were as I myself am. But each has his own special gift from God, one of one kind and one of another."

He compares this with Matt. 19.12, "For there are eunuchs who have been so from birth, and there are eunuchs who have been made eunuchs by men, and there are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. He who is able to receive this, let him receive it."

The similarity here is quite slight.

(xiii) 2 Cor. 5.10:

"For we all must appear before the judgment seat of Christ, so that each one may receive good or evil, according to what he has done in the body."

The gospel passage quoted is Matt. 25.31 - "When the Son of Man comes in his glory, and all the angels with him, then he will sit on his glorious throne."

We offer the same comment here as on number (xii)

(xiv) Phil. 3.8:

"Indeed I count everything as loss because of the surpassing worth of knowing Christ Jesus my Lord. For his sake I have suffered the loss of all things, and count them as refuse, in order that I may gain Christ."

He compares Matt. 16.26: "For what will it profit a man, if he gains the whole world and forfeits his life?"

No other commentator sees the connection between these verses as particularly noteworthy, nor do we.

(xv) 1 Thess. 2.15:

"(the Jews) who killed both the Lord Jesus and the prophets."

He compares Matt. 23.31: "Thus you witness against yourselves, that you are sons of those who murdered the prophets."

ἀποκτείνω (1 Thess. 2.15) is only found in three (or four)¹ other passages in Paul but is quite common in the four gospels and especially Matthew (thirteen times including two in chapter 23) but in Matt. 23.31 φονεύω is the verb used.

The idea of the Jews murdering the prophets is too common a one for an allusion to be posited with any confidence.

A. W. Argyle in the article referred to above² examines parallels between the teaching of Paul and the teaching of Jesus found in the M material in Matthew's gospel. He cites some of the passages we have already discussed and would add to our list:

(xvi) 1 Cor. 11.1:

"Be imitators of me as I am of Christ."

He comments³, "That much of Paul's authority even when he does not explicitly claim the authority of Jesus, was in line with the Lord's teaching as he understood it seems to be involved in his claim to be imitating Jesus."

If this verse is taken as an introduction to what follows, the reference to traditions which Paul had delivered to the Corinthians might add a little support to Argyle's view.

¹ depending on one's view of Eph. 2.16.

² 'M and the Pauline Epistles', Expository Times, 81, pp.340-342.

³ op.cit. p.341.

There seems no doubt, however, that 1 Cor. 11.1 should be taken as the conclusion to Paul's discussion in chapter 10.¹ As C. K. Barrett notes, "our chapter division is unfortunate"².

In chapter 10 Paul encourages the Corinthians to follow his example in the matter of food offered to idols by (v.32) avoiding to give offence and seeking to please all men. In setting this example for them to follow he claims to be following the example of Christ. There seems to be no reference to his teaching. So we must disagree with Argyle.

(xvii) Rom. 3.31:

"Do we then overthrow the law by this faith? By no means! On the contrary, we uphold the law." and

(xviii) Rom. 10.4:

"For Christ is the end of the law, that every one who has faith may be justified."

Argyle compares both these passages with Matt. 5.17, "Think not that I am come to abolish the law and the prophets; I have come not to abolish them but to fulfil them." He considers he has found a "striking parallel".

That Matthew of the three gospel writers is closest to Paul on the relationship of Christ and the Law is very interesting, but there is no evidence that Paul is dependent on the saying lying behind this passage.³

¹ 1 Cor. 11.16 seems to be the conclusion to 1 Cor.11.2-15.

² ad.loc. The R.S.V., Phillips, N.E.B. and T.E.V. take 1 Cor.11.1 with what precedes rather than what follows.

³ Perhaps this view of the relationship between Christ and the Law did not find expression in a dominical saying until after the time of Paul's writing the Epistle to the Romans.

(xix) 2 Cor. 1.18f:

"As surely as God is faithful, our word to you has not been Yes and No. For the Son of God, Jesus Christ, whom we preach among you, Silvanus and Timothy and I, was not Yes and No; but in him it is always Yes."

He compares Matt. 5.37, "Let what you say be simply Yes or No."

We find this an interesting rather than a 'striking' parallel.

What Paul is claiming for his preaching, is in accord with the injunction of Jesus in Matt. 5.37, although James 5.12¹ seems to be a closer parallel to this injunction, but we do think it possible that here we may have an allusion to the teaching of Jesus.

These three passages are the only ones in the New Testament to have 'Yes' and 'No' together. Although Liddell and Scott cite other examples of this from classical literature, we feel that there may be some link between these three passages and since presumably Paul and James are independent of one another, Paul may be alluding to the saying of the Lord recorded in Matt. 5.37.

(xx) 1 Cor. 15.52:

"..... For the trumpet will sound and the dead will be raised imperishable, and we shall be changed."

With this he compares Matt. 24.31, "and he will send out his angels with a loud trumpet call"

That Matthew is the only gospel writer to picture a trumpet in his account of the Last Day is an interesting fact, but not one strong enough to hang direct dependence from it.²

¹ ".... but let your yes be yes and your no be no, that you may not fall under condemnation."

² For other links between Paul and Matthew in the matter of eschatology see C. H. Dodd 'Matthew and Paul', New Testament Studies, pp.54ff.

(xxi) Col. 3.1f:

"If you then have been raised with Christ, seek the things that are above, where Christ is, seated at the right hand of God. Set your minds on things that are above, not on things that are on earth."

He compares Matt. 6.20: "but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust consumes and where thieves do not break in and steal."

At most the relationship between these two is very tenuous.

(xxii) 1 Cor. 4.5:

"Therefore do not pronounce judgment before the time, before the Lord comes."

He compares Matt. 7.1, "Judge not that you be not judged."

This parallel does not constitute an allusion.

W. Sanday¹ saw "coincidences of expression so striking as almost to amount to quotation" also in 1 Cor. 4.12f and 6.5.

Furthermore, F. H. Chase in The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church pp.19ff. adds several more similarities between the Synoptic Gospels and the Pauline Epistles. Alfred Resch in his exhaustive survey² finds 1035 parallels to the Synoptic Gospels from the Pauline Epistles and 107 parallels to the Agrapha³. (He also finds in Acts 61 parallels to the Synoptics and three to the Agrapha).

¹ op.cit.

² Der Paulinismus und die Logia Jesu by D. Alfred Resch in Texte und Untersuchungen XII

³ For these figures, we are indebted to W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism p.137.

An examination of all these parallels is beyond the scope of this study (perhaps of any study!), and we think we may close the list at this point.

NOTE. Dungan, op.cit., p.80 n, suggests that

2 Cor. 11.7: ὅτι δωρεὰν τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ εὐαγγελίου
εὐηγγελισάμεν ὑμῖν;

is an allusion to

Matt. 10.8: δωρεὰν ἐλάβετε, δωρεὰν δότε.

This is an interesting suggestion but, in our opinion, indicates no more than a similar view (of Matthew and Paul) on the matter of payment to apostles.

CONCLUSION.

Of the passages examined in this chapter, in the following cases the evidence seemed to be insufficient to warrant an allusion:

1 Cor. 12.3; 2 Cor. 10.1; 1 Cor. 10.21; 1 Cor. 1.22; 1 Cor. 7.7;
2 Cor. 5.10; Phil. 3.8; 1 Thess. 2.15; 1 Cor. 15.52; Col. 3.1f;
1 Cor. 4.5; Rom. 3.31; Rom. 10.4; 1 Cor. 4.12; 1 Cor. 6.5.

We looked at the claim of Argyle that 1 Cor. 11.1 had indirect reference to allusions to the teaching of Jesus and found it unlikely. This left seven passages where we felt we had discovered the presence of an allusion.

In one case it was impossible to decide which of the gospel parallels was nearer to Paul:-

Phil. 4.6: Matt. 6.25 and Luke 12.22

In two cases the relevant gospel passage was without parallel in the other two synoptic gospels:-

Rom. 16.19: Matt. 10.16

2 Cor. 1.18f: Matt. 5.37

It is surely significant that both these passages are from St. Matthew's gospel.

In the remaining four cases although passages from more than one gospel were quoted, in each case a passage from Matthew is relevant, and this is the passage that may be preferred:

Rom. 2.19:	Matt. 15.14	cf. Luke 6.39
Gal. 5.14:	Matt. 22.40	cf. Mark 12.28-34; Luke 10.25-28.
Gal. 5.21:	Matt 25.34	cf. Matt. 21.33-44; Mark 12.1-12; Luke 20.9-18.
1 Cor. 13.2:	Matt. 17.20	cf. Mark 11.23.

These passages from Matthew may be classified as follows:

one is from a parable exclusive to Matthew - Matt. 25.34.

two are from the Sermon on the Mount - Matt. 5.37; 6.25.

one is a Matthaean redaction of a Markan passage - Matt. 22.40.

three appear to be Matthew's additions to passages from Mark -

Matt. 10.16 to Mark 6.11.

Matt. 15.14 to Mark 7.17 (from Q? cf. Luke 6.39).

Matt. 17.20 to Mark 9.29 cf. Mark 11.23; Matt. 21.21.

THE 'LAW OF CHRIST'

THE LAW OF CHRIST

In Gal. 6.2 we read, "Bear one another's burdens, and so you will fulfil¹ the law of Christ."

ἑλληλῶν τὰ βάρη βαστάζετε, καὶ οὕτως ἑναπληρώσετε
τὸν νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

The question that concerns us is this - Does Paul's conception of the Law of Christ imply any knowledge of the words of Jesus? When we look for verbal links with the Synoptic Tradition, little of immediate relevance is discovered:

τὸ βᾶρος : 'load', 'burden' occurs five times elsewhere in the New Testament and only once in the Gospels. It has various meanings -

(i) Moral injunctions or the discipline that they impose -

Rev. 2.24f. "But to the rest of you in Thyatira, who do not hold this teaching, who have not learned what some call the deep things of Satan, to you, I say, I do not lay upon you any other burden; only hold fast what you have, until I come."

Acts 15.28. "For it has seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things: that you abstain"²

(ii) An "eternal weight of glory." 2 Cor. 4.17.

(iii) Referring to Apostolic Rights, 1 Thess. 2.7.

(iv) Manual labour. Matt. 20.12: "(We) who have borne the burden of the day and the scorching heat." This is the only

¹ "And so fulfil." - R.S.V.

² H. Alford, The Greek Testament IV, 1875, ad loc., thinks that Rev. 2.24 is an allusion to the Apostolic Decree, cited by L. Morris on Rev. 2.24, but this is unlikely.

occurrence of the noun in the gospels and the only other passage in the New Testament where it is used with the verb βαρτίζω. Another example of Matthew being the gospel writer nearest to Paul in his vocabulary.

(v) In Gal. 6.2 the reference seems to be to "moral lapses, temptations, and guilt."¹

βαρτίζω, 'bear,' 'carry', 'endure'. It is found in a similar context - Rom. 15.1f, "we who are strong ought to bear the failings of the weak and not to please ourselves; let each of us please his neighbour (τῷ πλησίον) for his good, to edify him" - which concludes a passage dealing with the "weaker brother" (Rom.14). In Gal. 5 and 6 the main theme is of concern for one another (5.15,26), of bearing the others' burdens (6.2) and of taking care not to fall (6.5).

ἀναπληρῶ, 'fill up completely'. We have already noted the parallel use of πληρῶ in Gal. 5.14. In Matt. 13.14 ἀναπληρῶ is used of the fulfilment of the words of the prophets. This is the only occurrence of the word outside Paul² and shows another verbal link between Paul and Matthew's Gospel.

It is arguable that since it is used of the fulfilment of prophetic utterances in Matt. 13.14, it could be used of the fulfilling of ethical injunctions which could underlie Gal. 6.2.

The only significant point to arise from all this concerns the use of βαρτίζω in Rom. 14f.³ In that passage a number of echoes

¹ G. Schrenk, ('βαρσι κτλ') T.D.N.T. i, p.555.

² It is also used in 1 Cor. 14.16; 16.17; Phil. 2.30; 1 Thess.2.16.

³ Colson, on Gal. 6.2 wonders whether Paul does not here remember how Jesus in John 19.17 is pictured as βαρτίζων his cross on the way to Golgotha. This view would require much more substantiation to be acceptable.

of the teaching of Jesus are to be found. This leads us to raise again the question we posed at the outset; To what is Paul referring when he talks of 'the law of Christ'? Could it be to some teaching of Jesus remembered by the Christian community and later preserved in the canonical gospels?

C. H. Dodd attempts to answer this question in an important article entitled 'Ἐννομος Χρ. στοῦ'.¹

Dodd examines 1 Cor. 9 where Paul's concern is to demonstrate the flexibility of his evangelistic approach to Jews and Gentiles.

v.22 "I have become all things to all men, that I might by all means save some."

Paul states (i) "to the Jews I became as a Jew in order to win Jews," that is, "to those under the law (τοῖς ὑπὸ νόμον) I became as one under the law that I might win those under the law." (v.20)

His approach to the Gentiles, however, was rather different:

(ii) "to those outside the law (τοῖς ἐξ νόμου) I became as one outside the law that I might win those outside the law." (v.21)

But Paul is well aware that to put the matter this way is to invite misunderstanding - if for reasons of evangelistic expediency it is possible for the apostle to be at one moment "under the law", that is, to submit to all the requirements of the Torah, and at the next, to be outside the law, that is, to be unaware of, or at least to ignore the revelation in the past of God's will to his people, then the difference between these two states, between the Jew and the Gentile cannot be important. If that is the case, why then engage in bitter controversy, on the one hand, with those who wish to retain

¹ First published in Studia Paulina in honorem Johannis de Zwaan, Haarlem, 1953; and later in More New Testament Studies, pp.134-148.

the Torah in their Christian practice, and on the other hand, with those who see no need for any regulations, since their faith is based on love? So he inserts a phrase in both parallel sentences to explain what he means by being

(i) under the law

(ii) outside the law.

(i) "though not being myself under the law", *μη ὡς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ νόμου.*
Paul is a Jew but 'not in the sense of one who submits to the authority of the law of Moses; in that sense he is not a Jew but behaves as if he were a Jew, that is, as if he were subject to the Mosaic Law."¹

(ii) "not being without the law toward God but under the law of Christ", *μη ὡς ἄνομος Θεοῦ ἀλλ' ἐννομος Χριστοῦ.*

Though he behaves as if the Mosaic Law meant nothing "he is not

ἄνομος in the sense of leading an unregulated and irresponsible life."² He has the law of God³, he is subject to the law of Christ.

How asks Dodd is this "law of Christ" to be conceived?

He refers to Gal. 6.2 which is "embedded in a series of moral injunctions forming part of what is called the 'ethical section' of the epistle."

In obeying these injunctions a man is fulfilling the law of Christ.

Or to put it another way, "in acknowledging himself bound by such injunctions he is *ἐννομος Χριστοῦ*." ⁴

¹ Dodd op. cit. pp 134f. The italics are his.

² *ibid.* p. 135.

³ The "law of God" is "something wider and more inclusive than the law simpliciter, in the sense of Torah." Dodd *ibid.* p. 137.

⁴ *ibid.* p. 138. Dodd thinks the view that by simply keeping the preceding precept "Bear one another's burdens" one is fulfilling the law of Christ, to be less likely. But he fails to realise that this precept could be a summary of all the rest of Gal. 5.14.

He examines the role of the Holy Spirit as described in Gal. 5 and 6 and concludes that it does not rule out the suggestion that the "law of Christ" is in some sense analogous to the Torah¹; and then he produces evidence that Paul did view the law of Christ in this light.

(i) 1 Cor. 9.14 : ὁ κύριος διέταξεν.

At this time διατάσσω was used of the issue of a decree or edict by a competent authority, and δῖταγμα is the technical term for the edict of the Emperor or his representative. In the New Testament, the verb and noun are used, of a decree of the Emperor - Acts 18.2; of military orders - Acts 23.31; 24.24; Luke 3.13; of a command of God to Moses embodied in the Torah, Acts 7.44. Christ is the subject of the verb in this verse and in Matt. 11.1 where he gives instructions to the twelve at the outset of their mission. One of these instructions, Matt. 10.10 is the one quoted by Paul in 1 Cor. 9.14.² So both Matthew and Paul see this saying as being a δῖταγμα of Jesus. A few verses later Paul speaks by implication of the law of Christ and "it would be unnatural to deny that he regarded such a positive precept as that of Matt. 10.10 as an element in that law."³

(ii) 1 Cor. 7.

Here ἐπιταγή is used for the precepts of Christ (7.25) and though Paul uses the colourless παραγγέλλω when he quotes the saying of the Lord about divorce (7.10) there can be no doubt, thinks Dodd,

¹ ibid. pp. 138-40

² Matt. 11.1 is an editorial link of the evangelist not in the parallel passages in Luke and Mark.

³ ibid. p.141.

that it was one of the precepts that he did have (cf. 7.25)
 ἐπιταγή is a stronger term than διατάγμα and in the LXX
 it is used several times to translate תורה¹. So Paul would
 seem to regard the saying about divorce (1Cor. 7.10) as "a legis-
 lative act of Christ". Since it is an ἐπιταγή of Christ he
 contrasts it with his own γνώμη (7.25, 40).²

(iii) Rom. 14. Dodd notes the presence of allusions to passages
 from the teaching of Jesus in the gospels, found in various epistles
 of Paul, and especially in Rom. 14.³ He concludes, "the method
 which Paul is here following is fundamentally similar to that
 employed in 1 Cor. 7.10f, where he glosses and applies the ἐπιταγή
 κυρίου except that in Romans the basic maxims are not expressly
 cited but adduced allusively, and that the procedure is sustained
 over a long passage of casuistry. It is, in fact, not essentially
 different from the method by which in rabbinic writings halakha is
 based upon precepts cited from the Torah. In other words, maxims
which formed part of the tradition of the sayings of Jesus are
treated as if they were in some sort elements of a new Torah."⁴

Dodd continues, "for our present purpose it is not without importance
 that the two places where Paul most distinctly cites sayings of the
 Lord as an authoritative basis for his own instructions to the
 church occur in the same epistle to which our fundamental text
 belongs, and is fairly close juxtaposition to it. If in the seventh

¹ תורה, The title of one of the three constituents of the Hebrew
 law is from this root.

² Paul claims to be directed by the Spirit, and so his γνώμη has
 authority but not quite of the same order as an ἐπιταγή κυρίου.

³ See our discussion, pp. 112ff.

⁴ op. cit. p. 145. The italics are ours.

chapter of that epistle he speaks of an ἐπιταγή κυρίου, and at an early point in the ninth chapter settles a controversial point with the words, ὁ κύριος διέταξεν, and if then at a later point in the same chapter he uses the expression ἔννομος Χριστοῦ, it is reasonable to conclude that such ἐπιταγαί and διατάγματα are conceived as in some sort constituent elements in the law of Christ."

He then returns to Gal. 6.2 to see if he can identify any ἐπιταγαί or διατάγματα τοῦ κυρίου in the surrounding verses.

The theme of Gal. 6.1-5 concerns the treatment of the brother who falls into sin. They must bear one another's burdens (v.2, τὰ βάρη) and yet at the same time each must bear his own burden (v.6 τὸ φορτίον)

Dodd notes the accusation against the Scribes and Pharisees of Matt. 23.4 - that they impose φορτία βάρεα upon their people,

"it would be a natural counterpart to this that the Christian

πνευματικός should carry his own φορτίον and help to carry the other man's βάρος ¹ is his comment. He finds in

Matt 18.15-20 a parallel to the injunction concerning the restoration of an erring brother. "Paul", he says, "is applying the precepts of Matt. 18.15f without going into the details of procedure."²

He finds an echo of Matt. 18.20, συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα, in the formula of excommunication in 1 Cor. 5.4f:³

ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ συναχθέντων ὑμῶν.

He concludes that "to 'fulfil the law of Christ' means a good deal more than simply to act 'in a Christian spirit'

¹ ibid. p.146.

² ibid.

³ A. M. Hunter, op.cit. p.127, follows him on this point.

It connotes the intention to carry out - in a different setting and altered circumstances, it is true - the precepts which Jesus Christ was believed to have given to his disciples and which they handed down in the church. This is to be *ἐννομος Χριστοῦ*.¹

Dodd's views have not met with unanimous agreement. One of the fullest discussions of this essay of his is found in V. P. Furnish's Theology and Ethics in Paul, pp.59-65.

Furnish takes issue with Dodd on three main points:

1. He is not as confident as Dodd about the number of convincing echoes of Jesus' teaching in Paul's letters. "This aspect of Dodd's argument," he comments,² "needs to be considered with great caution."
2. He feels that the proximity of the phrase *ἐννομος Χριστοῦ* to the commands of the Lord (1 Cor. 7.10; 9.14) is of no significance. This phrase is clearly antithetical to the preceding *ἐννομος Θεοῦ*, and has been inserted to guard against any possible misunderstanding of it. In Galatians he finds not a single explicit citation of the Lord's words and he is doubtful whether Paul considers the exhortations of Gal. 5.16ff as comprising in any cohesive sense a body of material attributable to Jesus.
3. He considers that the distinction between living by the Spirit and walking by the Spirit disrupts the unity between these that Paul is seeking to formulate in Gal. 5.25, "If we live by the Spirit, let us also walk by the Spirit".

We feel that the criticisms of Furnish carry some weight -

His observations on Gal. 5.16ff seem well made; Dodd does seem over-anxious to find allusions to sayings of Jesus in Paul's letters,

¹ op.cit p. 147.

² op.cit p. 60.

especially in Galatians - but we cannot go the whole way with him.

Three main points need to be made:

1. This present study leads us to be more confident about the number of allusions to sayings of Jesus in Paul's writings than Furnish.
2. He too easily dismisses the connection between *ἐννομος Χριστοῦ* and the commands of the Lord. It is true, and even Dodd¹ grants this, that Paul introduces this phrase to avoid possible misunderstanding of his previous *ἐννομος* (1 Cor. 9.21), but has he not been addressing in this epistle people who, since they are Gentile Christians, are *ἐνόμοι*, and is he not at pains to point out that they are also *ἐννόμοι* ? By picking up their slogan "All things are lawful" (6.12; 10.23) he is conceding that they are no longer under the Mosaic Law, but he takes care to qualify this: to abuse this freedom from the Law, as regards sexual morality, leads to the damaging and destruction of one's body and the complete disregard for one's union with Christ (6.12-20), as regards the eating of meats, it leads to indifference to the welfare of one's brother (8.13). One's freedom must be limited in the interests of one's neighbour (10.24). So the *ἐννομος/ἐνόμοι* motif, while it is only explicitly found at 9.21, underlies Paul's discussion of practical problems in chapters 5-10. The two commands of the Lord (7.10; 9.14) are important in this section of the letter, and Dodd is therefore justified in taking them as significant to his discussion of the Law of Christ.

¹ op.cit p.137. Though he sees it all, and more importantly, as being a further step in Paul's argument.

Now if our argument above is correct then the $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma/\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ motif in 10.23f takes the form:

"All things are lawful"/"Let no one seek his own good but the good of his neighbour."

That is, a person who is $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ Χριστοῦ will seek the good of his neighbour. Paul, however, says the same thing in Gal. 6.2:

"Bear one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ."

The person who restricts his own freedom in the interests of his weaker brother, is bearing the burden of that brother, and on the basis of Gal. 6.2 we may go on to say that such a person is fulfilling the Law of Christ.

In this second way, we are able to connect the law of Christ with Paul's discussion in 1 Cor. 5-10 and so with the two commands of Jesus quoted by Paul in this section.

3. Our third criticism of Furnish's view is that he fails to see the link between Gal. 6.2 and 5.14: $\delta\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \nu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omega\ \pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\rho\omega\tau\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \pi\tilde{\omega}\cdot\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\lambda\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon\ \omega\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu.$

Certain features common to these two verses are evident:

- (i) Both are concerned with the topic of law - $\delta\ \nu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ and $\delta\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \nu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$.
- (ii) Both give a brief injunction which sums up the whole law.
- (iii) The root - $\pi\lambda\eta\rho$ - is used in both for the fulfilling of the law.
- (iv) The sense of the injunctions is approximately the same:- the bearing of his burden is a clear sign of one's love for one's neighbour, and if one loves one's neighbour, one will bear his burdens. These parallels of structure, sense and vocabulary in statements that come within fifteen verses of one another indicate a very close relationship between them. And since we have established¹ some

¹ See above pp. 166ff.

relationship between Paul's summary of the law in Gal.5.14 and the statements of Jesus on the same topic in the gospels, it is not unreasonable to expect a similar relationship between Jesus' sayings and 'the law of Christ' in Gal. 6.2.

The precise nature of this relationship is difficult to ascertain. Those who see "authoritative rules of conduct" dependent on the teaching of Jesus as forming the Law of Christ are going too far.¹ Paul did not have a large scroll containing ethical instructions entitled "The Law of Christ"; as Furnish² points out the phrase in Gal. 6.2 refers to walking and living in the Spirit, Gal. 5.16ff. What we have been seeking to suggest is that remembered sayings of Jesus must have provided useful and generally authoritative guidelines as to what this submission to the Law of Christ, this living and walking in the Spirit would entail. Guthrie comments on Gal.6.2, "undoubtedly the expression 'law of Christ' is meant to contrast with the system of legalism as a religious principle. It involves submission to a Person rather than to a code. It seems better to take it in this sense than to suggest that 'law' here refers to any specific commandments or precepts of Jesus."

To this we would reply that we have shown that there are links between this passage and the teaching of Jesus; and secondly, submission

¹ Duncan on Gal. 6.2, Burton ad loc., Adeney ad loc. The phrase is Adeney's. Hunter ad loc. comments "'The Law of Christ' here means Christ's moral teaching which supplies a design for Christian living. Whether any of it was written down as early as this is not certain."

² op cit. p.61. Dodd, Gospel and Law pp 74ff distinguishes between "such precepts as this and a code of regulations" (p.75).

to any person does not preclude obedience to his precepts, indeed, it is much easier to submit to a person with some knowledge of his teaching than without it.

Dodd's conclusion, namely that "to fulfil the 'law of Christ' means ... to carry out ... the precepts that Jesus was believed to have given his disciples"¹ goes too far. It is not as cut and dried as that, but undoubtedly carrying out his precepts was an important part of that submission to Christ which was the fulfilling of the 'law of Christ'. To state that "the law of Christ is the law of love"² need not rule out references to the precepts of Jesus in this law. Dodd notes that the precepts of Jesus that are taken up in the primitive catechetical tradition indicate "the quality and direction of action which shall conform to the standard set by the divine agape."³

¹ op.cit. p.147. In his article 'The Primitive Christian Catechism and the Sayings of Jesus' in More New Testament Studies, pp.11ff, (earlier published in New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of Thomas Walter Manson, ed. A. J. B. Higgins, pp.106ff) Dodd sees the sayings of Jesus as being taken up in a catechetical 'pattern of teaching' (τύπος διδασχῆς, Rom. 6.17) p.13. of Furnish op. cit., p.60 n.96.

² Furnish op. cit. p.64; he gives a list of scholars who take either his or Dodd's view on this matter.

³ Gospel and Law p.73. Italics his.

DID PAUL KNOW THE LORD'S PRAYER?

DID PAUL KNOW THE LORD'S PRAYER?

J. Jeremias has investigated various aspects of the Lord's Prayer in two essays collected in a volume entitled The Prayers of Jesus¹. He examines the concept of God as Father in the Old Testament and ancient Palestinian Judaism concluding that "there is as yet no evidence in the literature of ancient Palestinian Judaism that 'My Father' is used as a personal address to God."²

He goes on to examine God as Father in the sayings of Jesus and Father as an address in the prayers of Jesus, and comes to the following conclusion:

"We have discovered that all five strata of the Gospel tradition (Mark, Q, L, M, John) report unanimously and without any hesitation that Jesus constantly addressed God as 'My Father' (with the exception of Mark 15.34, par. Matt. 27.46), and show that in so doing he used the Aramaic form אבא."³

No other Jew would have dared to use such an intimate and everyday word to describe his relationship with God; the only possible explanation for the use of 'Abba' in the primitive church is that the early Christians followed their Master's example in their address to God.

¹ The essay titles are 'Abba' and 'The Lord's Prayer in the Light of Recent Research'. Cf also his The Central Message of the New Testament, 1965 pp 9ff. Virtually every subsequent writer on the Lord's Prayer is indebted to the researches of Jeremias to some extent.

² Op.cit. p29.

³ Op.cit. p57. The italics are his. Cf. also his New Testament Theology, I, pp 61ff. Lohmeyer, The Lord's Prayer, p84, calls 'Abba' "an original heritage" of the Gospel tradition.

Cf. Rom. 8.15b.f: "When we cry, 'Abba! Father!' it is the Spirit himself bearing witness with our spirit that we are children of God."

Gal. 4.6: "And because you are sons, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying 'Abba! Father!'".

It is unusual to find such 'Aramaic fossils'¹ coming from the pen of St. Paul, both in letters addressed to churches which he has visited (e.g. Galatians), and has yet to visit (e.g. Romans). This was no ordinary word, of course, being the special word used by Jesus in addressing God his Father. So it became the special word of the Christians, who had been adopted into the family of God. "Here (Mark 14.36; Rom. 8.15; Gal. 4.6) was the survival of one of the very words of Jesus, from the heart of his prayer life, and they (the early Christians) would not let it go."²

That this word was preserved in their prayers suggests that it came down to them in prayers, perhaps in the Prayer, the Lord's Prayer.

This is the view of C. H. Dodd:

"The word 'Abba' is one of the Aramaic expressions of the primitive Church which passed over into Gentile usage in this case possibly through the liturgical use of the Lord's Prayer. Similarly the Aramaic 'Marana tha' (cf. 1 Cor. 16,22) is retained in the Greek liturgy of the 'Didache', or 'Teaching of the Twelve Apostles', as we still retain in liturgical usage 'Amen', 'Hosanna', and 'Hallelujah'."³

¹ R. A. Cole, The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians, page 117.

² D. Coggan, The Prayers of the New Testament, page 21.

³ C. H. Dodd, The Epistle to the Romans, on Rom. 8.15.

Leenhardt¹ and Murray² think an allusion to the Lord's Prayer in Rom. 8.15 possible, and F. F. Bruce³ thinks it likely. Barrett⁴ notes that 'Abba! Father!' corresponds to the opening of the Lord's Prayer in the Lucan form. This fact has led some scholars to note the established Jewish practice of calling a prayer by its opening word, for example the 'Shema'. So, it is possible that 'Abba! Father!' (Rom. 8.15, Gal. 4.6) is a quotation from the beginning of the Lord's Prayer (Lk. 11.2).⁵ Certainly, we think it likely that Paul and the Christian communities at Rome and in Galatia were familiar with the prayer which Jesus taught his disciples.

Two other possible allusions to the Lord's Prayer in the Pauline Epistles must now be examined:⁶

(i) Col. 3.13:

καθὼς καὶ ὁ κύριος ἔχαρίσατο ὑμῖν οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς .

Matt. 6.12: καὶ ἄφεσ ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν,
ὥς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν.

¹ ad loc.

² ad loc.

³ ad loc.

⁴ ad loc.

⁵ E. F. Scott, The Lord's Prayer, p.34 thinks that this can "hardly be doubted". Similarly H. Ridderbos (on Gal. 4.6) and G. S. Duncan (on Gal. 4.6); but other scholars are not quite so confident. Hunter (on Gal. 4.6) thinks this "just possible" and Guthrie (on Gal. 4.6) notes that the opening word of the Lord's Prayer "may have something to do with this liturgical usage."

⁶ For other suggested allusions see p.184.

Luke 11.4: καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν,
καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίμεν παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν.

There are no close verbal links between Col. 3.13 and either form of the Lord's Prayer - a different word is used for 'forgive'.

χαρίζου is only found in Luke/Acts and in Paul, but in the former it does not have the sense of 'forgive', though its use in Luke 7.42f about the cancelling of a debt gets near to this sense. The only other occurrence of ὀφείλημα in the New Testament is Rom. 4.4, where it has the sense of "what is one's due". In Matt. 6.12 it is a translation of the Hebrew, דָּבָר, Aramaic, דְּבָרָא, 'a debt', which has the figurative sense 'sin'. Because ὀφείλημα did not have this figurative sense Luke changes it to the more common ἁμαρτία.

The only link seems to be the connection between God's forgiveness to us and our forgiveness to others in Col. 3.13, which is similar to that found in both versions of the Lord's Prayer.

This is sufficient for Guthrie¹ to find an echo of the Lord's Prayer here; E. F. Scott concludes², "we can hardly doubt with a verse like this before us that it (the Lord's Prayer) was familiar to him", while F. F. Bruce³ thinks it 'suggests he knew the Lord's Prayer.'

This, however, need not be so. T. W. Manson⁴ refers to I. Abrahams, Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, II in pages 94-108, and C. G. Montefiore, Rabbinic Literature and Gospel Teachings, pp 125ff

¹ The New Bible Commentary, Revised, ad loc.

² ad loc. cf. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism p.139.

³ Colossians ad loc. cf. A. M. Hunter, Paul and his Predecessors, pp. 50f; Hendriksen, Colossians ad loc.

⁴ The Sayings of Jesus, p. 167

for examples in Jewish sources of this link between forgiving and being forgiven.

Again, surely the appeal in this verse is to the example of Jesus rather than his teaching, cf. 2 Cor. 8 where Paul bids his readers remember the grace (χάρις) of the Lord in his complete self-giving on their behalf to encourage them in their giving to the poor believers in Jerusalem. So no knowledge of the Lord's Prayer need be inferred from Col. 3.13¹.

(ii) 2 Thess. 3.2 & 3.

καὶ ἵνα ῥυθῶμαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐτόπων καὶ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων . . .
 ὁ κύριος ὅς στήριξαι ἡμᾶς καὶ φυλάξαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.
 Matt. 6.13b: ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

Matt. 6.13b is not found in the Lucan version of the Lord's Prayer and probably is a liturgical expansion of it.² So the question now becomes, "Is Paul alluding to one of the clauses added to the Lord's Prayer in some churches for liturgical reasons?"

¹ "The call to forgive is based not upon any command of Christ, nor upon his example as a pattern of human conduct but upon our own experience of his forgiveness." F. W. Beare, *Colossians*, I.B., ad loc. We agree with the first clause of this quotation, but consider that the second and third clauses are not mutually exclusive: the call to forgive could be based both upon his example of forgiveness, and upon our experience of his forgiveness.

² So J. Jeremias, *Prayers*; pp.90ff; A. H. McNeile, *The Gospel according to St. Matthew*, ad loc.; G. B. Caird, *St. Luke*, on Luke 11.1ff; J. Fenton, *St. Matthew*, ad loc.; etc. But E. F. Scott, *The Lord's Prayer*, p.82 cf. pp.27ff, thinks that Matthew "has preserved the prayer in its authentic form."

2 Thess. 3.2 has three links with Matt. 6.13b.

a. It comes in the context of a prayer.

3.1: "Pray for us that we may be delivered"

Elsewhere in Paul we have prayers for deliverance from the danger of death (2 Cor. 1.10) and from those that are disobedient in Israel (Rom. 15.31). It is possible that in these prayers we see the influence of a version of the Lord's Prayer similar or identical to that found in Matt. 6.13; but we think it just as possible that the influence is in the reverse direction - that these prayers for deliverance found liturgical expression in the additional clause to the Lord's Prayer in Matt. 6.13b.

b. ^ερύεσθαι

We have noted the presence of this verb in two other prayers of Paul. It also occurs in Rom. 7.24: "Who will deliver me from this body of death?"

We think it likely that, in a prayer from the depths of his being such as this, Paul would only use words securely grounded in his own vocabulary. So he is probably not dependant on the Lord's Prayer in his use of ^ερύεσθαι.

c. πονηρός

The association of πονηρός with ^ερύεσθαι here and in Matt. 6.13 might suggest some sort of connection. This, however, is the sort of adjective one would expect to find in a prayer for deliverance; cf. Luke 1.74; 2 Tim. 3.11; and 2 Tim. 4.18:

^ερύεσθαι με ὁ κύριος ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ.

In the LXX, especially the Psalms, God rescues (^ερύεσθαι) his people from afflictions, Psalms 34.17; persecutors, Psalms 7.2; the evil day, Psalms 41.1.

J. N. D. Kelly thinks that 2 Tim. 3.11 is an echo of Psa. 34.17, but 2 Tim. 4.18 sounds, to him, "like an echo of the Lord's Prayer"!!¹

We consider the LXX usage to be sufficient background for the use of

φύεσθαι (with and without πονηρός) in the New Testament.

2 Thess. 3.3 has also been linked with Matt. 6.13b.

The adjective πονηρός is found as a substantive five times in Matt., once in Luke, once in John, and four times in 1st John. It occurs three times in Paul:²

Rom. 12.9, "hate what is evil (neuter)".

1 Cor. 5.13, referring to the incestuous man.

Eph. 6.16, "the flaming arrows of the evil one."

It cannot be said to be common in Paul, but, on the other hand, there is no need to assume dependence on the Lord's Prayer since in 1 Cor. 5.13 he is quoting from Deuteronomy.

Our conclusion is that, as we found on Col.3.13, so here on 2 Thess. 3.2 and 3, there is no good reason for holding that we have an echo of the Lord's Prayer³. Of course, some have disagreed: Adeney⁴ thinks an allusion possible, Lightfoot⁵ finds an "indirect allusion".

¹ J. N. D. Kelly, A commentary on the Pastoral Epistles, ad loc.

² The fact that, in their use of πονηρός, Matthew of the Synoptic Evangelists seems to be closest to Paul, is perhaps worth noting. cf. Lohmeyer, op.cit. p.215.

³ So W. Neil, Thessalonians, ad loc; J. E. Frame, The Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, ad loc., who also refers to the commentary of M. Dibelius (in Lietzmann's Handbuch 1911).

⁴ W. F. Adeney, Thessalonians and Galatians (Century Bible) ad loc.

⁵ J. B. Lightfoot, Notes on Epistles of St. Paul, ad loc.

F. H. Chase has argued for Paul's knowledge of the Lord's Prayer in some detail¹: comparing Matt. 6.13b and 2 Thess. 3.3, he thinks Paul substituted $\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\iota$ for $\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ because he had used $\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\theta\omega\mu\epsilon\upsilon$ just above and $\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\iota$ harmonises with $\sigma\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\xi\epsilon\iota$ better than $\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$. He finds other allusions to this clause of the Lord's Prayer in 2 Cor. 12.7f; Gal. 1.3f; and Col. 1.12ff. In this last passage he finds four of the leading thoughts of the Lord's Prayer:- "the Father", "who delivered us out of the power of darkness", "the kingdom", "the forgiveness of our sins" - and concludes, "It can hardly be argued that this is a mere coincidence." The Lord's Prayer, he feels, had worked itself into the Apostle's mind and habit of thought, and the reminiscence, even though it be unintentional, is full of significance.

In our view, the similarities between these passages and the Lord's Prayer, as in the case of 2 Thess. 3.2f, may be explained more easily in other ways than by supposing that Paul is echoing the Lord's Prayer at these points. On the other hand, the references to 'Abba! Father!' (Rom. 8.15; Gal. 4.6) would seem to point clearly to a knowledge of Jesus' use of 'Abba' in Prayer, and perhaps to the Lord's Prayer itself.²

¹ F. H. Chase, The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church, pp. 112ff.

² Cf. F. F. Bruce, Tradition Old and New, p.53.

CONCLUSIONS

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

On the basis of our investigations we can now say that in our view, Paul quotes a saying of Jesus three times in his epistles - 1 Cor. 7.10; 9.14; 11.23ff.

1 Thess. 4.15f, we think to be a reference to his earlier preaching to the Thessalonians.

We examined the 'commandment of the Lord', 1 Cor. 14.37, and found no clear reference to a saying of Jesus. Paul's concept of the 'Law of Christ', on the other hand, we felt to be not completely unaffected by knowledge of sayings of Jesus. We could find no clear evidence to prove that he knew the Lord's Prayer.

Turning to the allusions we may summarize our findings as follows:

1. Rom. 12-14

We examined ten suggested allusions.

Six give in general terms, the teaching also found in the Sermon on the Mount. Nearly all of this material is also found in Luke, most of it in the Sermon on the Plain (6.17-49), but some, e.g. the saying on lack of concern for food and drink, recorded elsewhere (12.29).

Of the other four verses

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| Rom. 12.14 | - Matt. 5.44 and Luke 6.28 seemed to be equally close. |
| Rom. 13.17 | - Matt. 22.21; Mark 12.17; Luke 20.25 all seemed to be equally close. |
| Rom. 14.14 | - Matt. 15.11; seems perhaps closer than Mark 7.15. |
| Rom. 15.8-10 | - Matt. 19.16-22 seems closer than either Mark 10.17-22 or Luke 18.18-23. |

2. 1 Thess. 4-5

We examined eleven suggested allusions and decided that

Two were probably allusions - 5.2; 5.15

One was certainly not one - 4.9b

Two were probably not allusions - 5.8; 5.16

leaving six possible allusions - 4.8; 5.5; 5; 6; 13; 21.

The Matthaean and Lucan parallels to the probable allusions seemed equally close

5.2 - Matt. 24.42, Luke 12.39

5.15 - Matt. 5.44, Luke 6.28

The possible allusions seemed closer to Luke than Matthew:

4.8 - Luke 10.16 cf. Matt. 10.40

5.5 - Luke 21.34

5.5 - Luke 16.8

5.6 - Matt. 24.42

5.13 - Mark 9.50

3. Colossians

Of the eight passages examined, six showed clear sign of the catechetical interest of the church.

Two were probable allusions -

4.2 - Mark 14.37, par. Matt. 26.40f

4.6b - Luke 21.14f, closer than Mark 13.11; Matt. 10.19f; Luke 12.11f.

Two were possible allusions

5.5 - Matt. 5.29f, closer than Mark 9.43

4.6a - Mark 9.50

One other noteworthy parallel was

4.12 - Luke 21.36

4. Other possible allusions

We found ~~two~~ possible and five probable allusions.

Of the possibles one was paralleled in two gospels:

Phil. 4.6 - Matt. 6.25 and Luke 12.22

and one in Matthew alone: 2 Cor. 1.18f - Matt. 5.57.

One of the probable allusions was paralleled only in Matthew:

Rom. 16.19 - Matt. 10.16

In the case of the other four, Matthew's version was the one to be preferred

Rom. 2.19 - Matt. 15.14 (cf. Luke 6.59)

Gal. 5.14 - Matt. 22.40 (cf. Mark 12.28-34; Luke 10.25-28)

Gal. 5.21 - Matt. 25.54 (cf. Matt. 21.53-44; Mark 12.1-12; Luke 20.9-18)

1 Cor. 15.2 - Matt. 17.20 (cf. Mark 11.25)

PAUL AND THE EVANGELISTS

The information given in the summary of findings on pp. 210ff. may be presented in another way in the following tables.

The symbols used in the tables signify the following:

a gospel passage in brackets, e.g. (Mark 11.23) - the parallel passage in another gospel is considered to be closer to Paul.

- (O) - there are no parallels in the other gospels.
- (P) - this is considered a probable allusion.
- (C) - this has strong links with the catechetical tradition of the church.

1 Cor. 7.10; 9.14; and 11.23ff, though rather different from the rest are included in the tables for the sake of completeness and comparison.

Possible Allusions to sayings in Matthew's Gospel.

<u>Matt. 5.</u>		The Sermon on the Mount.
		The general teaching is alluded to in Rom. 12.17, 17b, 18, 20, 21; 14.17 (C)
	vv.29f	- Col. 3.5 (C)
	v.37	- 2 Cor. 1.18f (O)
	v.44	- Rom. 12.14 (C); 1 Thess. 5.15 (C and P)
<u>Matt. 6.</u>	v.25	- Phil. 4.6
<u>Matt. 10.</u>	v.10	- 1 Cor. 9.14
	v.16	- Rom.16.19 (P and O)
	(v.19f)	- Col. 4.6b
	(v.40)	- 1 Thess. 4.8
<u>Matt. 15.</u>	v.11	- Rom. 14.14 (P)
	v.14	- Rom. 2.19 (P)
<u>Matt. 17.</u>	v.20	- 1 Cor. 13.2 (P)
<u>Matt. 19.</u>	v.6	- 1 Cor. 7.10
	vv.16-22	- Rom. 13.8-10
<u>Matt. 22.</u>	v.21	- Rom. 13.7 (P)
	v.39	- Rom. 13.8-10
	v.40	- Gal. 5.14 (P)
<u>Matt. 24.</u>	v.42	- 1 Thess. 5.6 (C)
	v.43	- 1 Thess. 5.2 (P)
<u>Matt. 25.</u>	v.34	- Gal. 5.21 (P)
<u>Matt. 26.</u>	v.40	- Col. 4.2 (P and C)

Possible Allusions to Sayings in Mark's Gospel

<u>Mark 6.</u>	(vv.11ff)	-	1 Cor. 9.14.
<u>Mark 7.</u>	v.15	-	Rom. 14.14
<u>Mark 9.</u>	(v.43)	-	Col. 3.5 (C)
	v.50	-	1 Thess. 5.13 (O and C); Col. 4.6a (O and C); Rom. 12.18 (C)
<u>Mark 10.</u>	(v.9)	-	1 Cor. 7.10
	(vv.17-22)	-	Rom. 13. 8-10
<u>Mark 11.</u>	(v.23)	-	1 Cor. 13.2.
<u>Mark 12.</u>	(vv.1-12)	-	Gal. 5.21
	v.17	-	Rom. 13.7 (P)
	(vv.28-34)	-	Gal. 5.14
<u>Mark 13.</u>	(v.11)	-	Col. 4.6b.
<u>Mark 14.</u>	vv.37f	-	Col. 4.2 (P)

Possible Allusions to Sayings in Luke's Gospel.

- Luke 6. The 'Sermon on the Plain'.
- The general teaching is alluded to in Rom.
12.17, 18, 20, 21.(C)
- v.28 - Rom. 12.14 (C); 1 Thess 5.15 (C and P)
- (v.39) - Rom. 2.19
- Luke 10. (v.7) - 1 Cor. 9.14
- v.16 - 1 Thess. 4.8
- (vv.25-28)- Gal. 5.14
- Luke 12. v.22 - Phil. 4.6
- v.29 - Rom. 14.17 (general thought of)
- v.39 - 1 Thess. 5.2 (P)
- Luke 16. v.8 - 1 Thess. 5.5 (O)
- (v.18) - 1 Cor. 7.10
- Luke 18.(vv.18-20)- Rom. 13.8-10
- Luke 20.(vv.9-18) - Gal. 5.21
- v.25 - Rom. 13.7 (P)
- Luke 21. vv.14f - Col. 4.6b (P)
- v.34 - 1 Thess. 5.3 (O and C)
- v.36 - Col. 4.12 (O and C)
- Luke 22. vv.15-20 - 1 Cor. 11.23ff (P)

Some caution is required in interpreting these tables:

There is a wide range in the degree of probability of different passages being allusions, and only those marked (P) have a good case to be considered as such.

In a number of cases, e.g. Mark 9.50b, the link may not be between Paul and the teaching of Jesus, but between Paul and the interpretation of the gospel writers.

A complicating factor is the appearance of catechetical material (C) in the tables.

Mark's table has a total of 14 references, 6 are unbracketed and 2 unparalleled (both of which come under the (C) classification). The (P) references have parallels - one in both gospels, the other in Matthew's gospel only.

Luke's table has a total of 22 references, 15 are unbracketed and 2 unparalleled (again both catechetical). Four references are considered probable allusions, all of which are paralleled in Matthew, and 2 of which are paralleled in Mark.

Matthew's table has a total of 27 references with only 2 of them bracketed. Two have no parallels in the other synoptic gospels. Ten are considered probable allusions, one of which is unique to Matthew.

So these tables suggest that Mark is furthest from Paul, and of the other two, Matthew is closer to him than Luke. This suggestion is supported by our findings on the words of the Lord. There we found that Paul's and Luke's accounts of the Last Supper seemed closest, but on the other hand it was to Matthew's version of the sayings that Paul seemed closer when quoting his Lord in 1 Cor. 7.10; 9.14.

Our words of caution above should make one hesitant about drawing any finer conclusions from our tables but perhaps we may be permitted

to make some tentative suggestions.

Luke seems to be closer to Paul in 1 Thess. 4-5, than does Matthew, and one of the passages to which attention has been drawn is Luke 21.34-36. We have quoted Bultmann (p.161n) who thinks that Luke may have had a fragment from a lost epistle of Paul's before him here. It seems unlikely that they are both relying upon a tradition of the sayings of Jesus, Bultmann seems to be on the right lines; this looks like an example of a "Paulinism" in Luke. May we then say that Luke is generally closer to Paul as regards the apocalyptic sayings of Jesus?

As regards the way in which the Christian life is to be lived, it is surely significant that the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount is echoed so often in Paul (and more so than the Sermon on the Plain). We can go one step further; not only do Matthew and Paul agree as to the kind of material to be used in instructing converts, our discussion of Rom. 13.8-10 (pp. 109f) shows that Paul and Matthew have the same view on the fulfilling of the Law which is different from the views of Luke and Mark.

This point, along with the numerically greater evidence for allusions to sayings as preserved by Matthew and the preference that often has to be given to the Matthean version, when there is more than one gospel parallel, leads us to repeat our conclusion that in their understanding and use of sayings of Jesus it is Matthew of the synoptic Evangelists who is nearest to Paul.

One question may be raised at this point:

Why does Paul not quote sayings of Jesus more often?

To begin to answer this we start with the related question -

In what circumstances does he quote Jesus?

It is surely significant that Paul cites the three words of the Lord in one section of one epistle (1 Cor. 7-16), a section where he is answering questions either raised in writing by the Corinthians (7.1 "now concerning the matters about which you wrote") or transmitted orally to him (11.18 "I hear that there are divisions among you").

Let us look first at 7.10 and 9.14, words of the Lord quoted in response to written questions. In chapter 7 Paul answers their questions about marriage and celibacy. J. C. Hurd¹ has aptly noted that "the problem of authority was important for Paul when answering the Corinthians' questions." Throughout his answer Paul is careful to give his reasons or cite his authorities for his rulings.

1. v.6. "I say this by way of concession not command."
2. v.10. "To the unmarried, I give charge, not I but the Lord, that the wife should not separate from her husband." Paul refers to the saying of Jesus recorded in Matt. 19.6².
3. v.12. "To the rest I say, not the Lord . . ."

Not unexpectedly, considering the ministry of Jesus was conducted almost exclusively within the bounds of Judaism, Paul did not possess a word of the Lord on mixed marriages. So he makes clear that this instruction is his own not the Lord's.

¹ The Origin of 1 Corinthians, p.70.

² cf. pp. 47ff.

4. v.17. "This is my rule in all the churches."

So he is not making an exception of the Corinthians.

5. v.25. "Now concerning the unmarried, I have no command of the Lord, but give my opinion as one who by God's mercy is trustworthy."

6. v.40 "In my judgement . . . and I think I have the Spirit of God."

Paul's answer to the Corinthians on the question of marriage and celibacy falls into the following sections:¹

- (i) vv. 1-7 behaviour within marriage
- (ii) vv. 10-11 separation and divorce
- (iii) vv. 12-16 mixed marriages
- (iv) vv. 17-24 "lead the life which the Lord has assigned"
- (v) vv. 25-38 the unmarried
- (vi) vv. 39-40 the widow

In each of these six sections Paul is careful to define the authoritative nature of his reply. So (i) v.6; (ii) v.10; (iii) v.12; (iv) v.17; (v) v. 25; (vi) v.40.

In 1 Cor. 9 Paul is explaining, in the midst of his answer to the question about "food offered to idols",² why he did not avail himself of his right, as an apostle, to be supported by the church he was serving. Having appealed to the Corinthians for a voluntary curtailment of their freedom as regards food, in the interests of others, he shows how he voluntarily surrendered his own apostolic rights. To those who questioned whether

¹ Since they naturally follow on from v.7, vv.8f may be grouped with section (i).

² For the relationship between chapter 9 and chapters 8 and 10, see Hurd, op.cit. pp.70f, 130.

indeed he did possess the right he was professing to set aside, Paul shows the validity of his claim by appealing to four different authorities:

1. Commonly accepted practice, he cites the example of soldiers, vine-dressers and shepherds. v.7.
2. The Old Testament v.8.
3. Universal religious practice including the practice of the Levitical priesthood. v.13.
4. The teaching of Jesus. v.14.

By showing the strength of the basis of his right to support Paul can stress the significance of his voluntary refusal of such support in the interests of the furtherance of the gospel, and so also heighten the impact of his appeal to them to curtail their freedom, for the sake of the weaker brother.

We conclude that in both these cases Paul is very careful to cite his authorities. In both he is replying to written requests for information and instruction, so he frames his answer with care and thought.

Another factor leading him to cite his authorities would seem to be the nature of the questions asked. The question of marriage and celibacy was one requiring great tact and understanding, the 'big stick' which Paul wields on other occasions was completely out of place here, so we see the extraordinary care with which Paul explains the precise basis of his instructions.

The saying about support is somewhat different: Paul is giving a personal example within his overall answer to the question of "food offered to idols." In this case the citing of the word of the Lord heightens his appeal to them to put the needs of fellow believers and the furtherance of the gospel before personal rights.

1 Cor. 11.23ff is a different case. It is part of Paul's response to "oral and unofficial information" (Hurd p.78) about abuses of the Lord's Supper. By rehearsing the teaching of Jesus he is not giving them new information (v.23 "what I also delivered to you") but recalling them to earlier behaviour from which they had strayed. "The Corinthians' present behaviour was all the more reprehensible to Paul because they already knew what the Lord had said about the proper celebration of the Lord's Supper." (Hurd p.79) He may also have been reminding them of teaching that formed part of the liturgy of the Lord's Supper.¹

Elsewhere in his epistles Paul does not consider it necessary to be so meticulous in giving the basis of his teaching. This is one reason why he does not quote sayings of Jesus more frequently.

That his oral instruction did include some teaching of Jesus is clear from 1 Cor. 11.23, so that perhaps he imparted to them more words of the Lord than we might think. This is the view of C. F. D. Moule, who holds that² "there is no reason why Paul should have shown interest in the story of Jesus (however much he felt it) in letters written for highly specialised purposes, to persons who were already Christians . . . If the epistles represented Paul's evangelistic gospel and the substance of his primary proclamation, then of course we should be justified in deducing that the story of Jesus did not interest him. But they simply do not represent anything of the sort.

¹ He refers to liturgical practice at Rom. 8.15; Gal. 4.6 ('Abba') see pp.

² 'Jesus in New Testament Kerygma', pp.18f.

All the prolegomena are assumed in them,¹ because he is addressing Christian congregations."

Although the content of Paul's evangelistic preaching and his 'immediate follow-up' is a matter of some speculation, we feel that there is something to be said for this view.

So then he quotes sayings of Jesus:

1. Where he is giving a carefully framed answer to written questions;
2. Where for reasons of tact he had to carefully define his authorities;
3. Where he is referring to teaching he had already given them.

The role of the 'armchair correspondent' is one which Paul seldom dons and this, we think, explains the paucity of explicit reference to sayings of Jesus.

An interesting parallel to 1 Cor. 8-10 is Rom. 14, where a similar problem is being discussed² - we find divisions over what food may be eaten, and reference is made to 'weak' brothers. In this latter passage Paul does not quote his Lord but his teaching seems to be in the back of his mind (Rom. 14.14; 14.17). May we infer from this, that in the ethical sections of his letters the teaching of Jesus is very much in Paul's mind³ but he only expressly quotes from it in special circumstances like those listed above?

¹ Prof. J. Jeremias took a not dissimilar view in a lecture delivered in Durham in May 1971. (I am indebted to Rev. W. S. Campbell for this information)

² Rom. 14.2 "One believes he may eat anything, while the weak man eats only vegetables."

³ cf. our discussion of the allusions.

Note on the 'Creative Genius' of the Early Church

Before we leave 1 Cor. 7 one other point should be noted.

Some exaggerated claims have been made about the creative genius of the early church in putting sayings into the mouth of Jesus.

Passages like 1 Cor. 7.12 should help to temper such exaggeration.

Moffatt¹ makes this point and continues:

"Apostles and prophets as well as teachers (12.28) drew on a living tradition of eye-witnesses which preserved utterances of Jesus, and their responsible task was primarily to transmit such original sayings. It was plainly a responsibility which was felt to involve not merely keenness of memory, but scrupulous veracity. An incidental remark like this of Paul tells against the notion that gifted men in the primitive communities felt inspired to produce, by a free use of their devout imagination, sayings of the Lord to suit the requirements of the cult. Words of Jesus might be and were modified as well as moulded in the course of transmission, but they did not come into being by a process of spontaneous generation If anyone in the primitive Church had creative literary genius, it was Paul. It is historically of high importance that he did not feel at liberty to create a saying of Jesus, even when, as here, it would have been highly convenient in order to settle a disputed point of Christian behaviour."

¹ ad loc.

Paul and the Catechetical Tradition

In our discussion of the three main blocks of allusions we noted the links between most of the suggested allusions and the catechetical tradition of the early church, making frequent mention of the important essay on the topic by E. G. Selwyn.¹ The details of our discussion need not be repeated, we simply assert that the three blocks of suggested allusions show clear similarities to the catechetical tradition of the early church.

We should also note that three blocks of gospel material prominent in our tables above also show clear signs of being framed with the needs of catechumens in mind -

the Sermon on the Mount² - Matt. 5-7

the Sermon on the Plain - Luke 6.17-49³

Mark 9.42-50⁴

The precise relationship between sayings of Jesus and the catechetical tradition is difficult to define clearly.

We have already noted (p.131) how C. H. Dodd thinks that sayings of Jesus formed the basis of this tradition, but admits that this can neither be proved nor disproved.

¹ 'On the Inter-relation of I Peter and other N.T. Epistles', The First Epistle of St. Peter, pp.363ff.

² K. Stendahl, 'Matthew' (Peake) p.769, calls Matthew's Gospel "a handbook for teaching and administration within the church", and he thinks the Sermon on the Mount "shows a growth of catechetical material"(ad loc.). Jeremias, The Sermon on the Mount, pp.20ff calls it "an early christian catechism."

³ This passage contains much of the material also found in Matt.5-7.

⁴ see our discussion, pp. 136f.

In our discussion of 1 Thess. 5.5 (pp129f) we noted how E. G. Selwyn too easily assumes that sayings of Jesus influenced the catechetical tradition, but we are confident that such sayings are to be found embedded in this material¹. So while it is not possible to classify the catechesis of the church as regards its origin, assigning some to Jesus' teaching, some to Jewish teaching, and so on, we consider it highly probable that sayings of Jesus along with other, mostly Jewish, material were fused together for the instruction of converts in the primitive christian communities.

¹ e.g. 1 Thess. 5.2; 5.6, Col. 4.2; 4.6b.

ABBREVIATIONS

AND

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS

Arndt and Gingrich:	<u>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</u> by W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, Cambridge, 1957.
Black:	<u>Black's New Testament Commentaries</u> , series edited by H. Chadwick.
Century:	<u>The Century Bible</u> , General Editor, W. F. Adeney.
New Century:	<u>New Century Bible</u> , General Editors, H. H. Rowley (later R. E. Clements) and M. Black.
Clarendon:	<u>The Clarendon Bible</u> , General Editors, Strong, Wild and Box.
New Clarendon:	<u>New Clarendon Bible</u> , General Editor, H. F. D. Sparks.
E.G.T.	<u>Expositor's Greek Testament</u> , editor, W. Robertson Nicoll.
I.C.C.	<u>The International Critical Commentary</u> , editors, S. R. Driver, A. Plummer, C. A. Briggs.
I.B.	<u>The Interpreter's Bible</u> , editors G. A. Buttrick et al.
Liddell and Scott:	<u>A Greek-English Lexicon</u> compiled by H. G. Liddell and R. Scott. A New Edition ... by H. S. Jones, Oxford 1940.
Moffatt:	<u>The Moffatt New Testament Commentary</u> , editor J. Moffatt.
N.B.C.R.	<u>The New Bible Commentary Revised</u> , editors D. Guthrie et al., London, 1970.
New London:	<u>The New London Commentary on the New Testament</u> , editor N. B. Stonehouse, later F. F. Bruce. (Also known as <u>the New International Commentary on the New Testament</u> .)
Pelican:	<u>The Pelican Gospel Commentaries</u> , editor D. E. Nineham.
Peake or New Peake:	<u>Peake's Commentary on the Bible</u> , revised and reset, editors M. Black and H. H. Rowley, London 1962.
Strack-Billerbeck:	<u>Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud u. Midrash</u> , by Paul Billerbeck and H. Strack München, 1922-56.
T.D.N.T.	<u>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</u> , editor G. Kittel, (later G. Friedrich), translated by G. W. Bromiley, Grand Rapids, 1964 -

- Torch:** Torch Bible Commentaries, editors J. Marsh and A. Richardson.
- Tyndale:** Tyndale New Testament Commentaries, editor R. V. G. Tasker.
- Westminster** Westminster Commentaries, editors W. Lock and D. C. Simpson.

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